

THE
WORKS
OF

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*, Bar^t.

K.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

To which is prefixed,

The LIFE and CHARACTER of the AUTHOR.

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M,DCC,LIV.



THE
L I F E
AND
C H A R A C T E R
O F
Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE.*

[*Written by a particular FRIEND.*]

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE was descended from a younger branch of the family of the TEMPLES, of *Temple-Hall*, in *Leicestershire*. Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, of the elder branch, pretended, that his ancestors came in with the conquest, and had the pedigree distinct from King *John's* time, when they were possessed of great estates; but, having taken the unfortunate side in *Richard III.'s* time, lost all but *Temple-Hall*, which was afterwards sold, and could never be recovered, either by Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, or his father.

His grandfather was Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, an eighth son, bred up at *King's College* in *Cambridge*,

bridge, designed for the law, but he fell into the more refined and philosophical studies of that age; and writ on those subjects two treatises in very elegant *Latin*, which he dedicated to Sir *Philip Sidney*, who first prevailed with him to leave the college, and accompany him abroad, and there died in his arms; after he had before his death recommended him to the great Earl of *Essex*, who was then in the height of Queen *Elizabeth's* favour, and whose Secretary he was till the tragical end of his life. Sir WILLIAM not only fell with him from the prospect of so great fortunes, but was pursued by *Cecil*, and at last sent over to *Ireland*, where he followed the course of his studies in the college, of which he was chosen Provost, and there died at the age of seventy three years, and lies buried there.

HIS eldest son JOHN TEMPLE was sent young abroad, and afterwards bred in the court of King *Charles I.*; and by him made Master of the Rolls in *Ireland*: he married a sister of the famous Dr. *Hammond*, and by her had four sons and one daughter, who, all except one son, survived him. He lived at *Dublin* and was of the Privy Council there, and in particular friendship and confidence with the Earl of *Leicester*, then declared Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, when the rebellion there, in 1640, broke out; in the transactions of which remarkable year he was deeply engaged; and upon the changes in the King's counsels, and affairs, was imprisoned with three more Privy Counsellors, for opposing the cessation, which the

the Duke of *Ormond* was commanded to make with the *Irish* rebels.

IN 1644, he was exchanged, and sent for by the Parliament in *England*, in which he sat till 1648, and was then turned out with those they called the secluded members, for joining with them in voting for the conditions of the peace then treated with the King in the Isle of *Wight*. During the sad scene which followed his execrable murder, he continued to live privately in *London*, till the happy restoration in 1660, when he returned to the place of Master of the Rolls, in *Ireland*, where he lived in great plenty and esteem, and there died in the year 77, which was the same of his age, and lies buried by his father in *Dublin* college.

HIS eldest son, WILLIAM TEMPLE, was born at *London*, in 1628, first sent to school at *Penshurst* in *Kent*, under the care of his uncle Dr. *Henry Hammond*, then Minister of that parish, and from thence, at ten years old, to Mr. *Leigh*, School-master of *Bishop-stratford*, to whom he used to say, he was beholden for all he knew of *Greek* and *Latin*: having attained to all that was to be learned there, at fifteen he returned home, the disorders of that time having hindered his going to the university till seventeen, when he was placed in *Emanuel* college in *Cambridge*, under Dr. *Cudworth*: At nineteen he began his travels into *France*, in 1648, a time so dismal to *England*, that none but they, who were the occasion of those troubles and confusions in their country, could be sorry to leave it: he chose

chose to pass through the Isle of *Wight*, where his Majesty was then prisoner in *Carisbrook* castle, and met there with Mrs. *Dorothy Osburn*, daughter to Sir *Peter Osburn*, then Governor of *Guernsey* for the King, who was going with her brother to their father at *St. Maloes*; he made that journey with them, and there began an amour with that young Lady, which lasted seven years, and then ended in a happy marriage; he passed two years in *France*, learned *French* perfectly, and soon after made a tour into *Holland*, *Flanders*, and *Germany*, in which he grew as perfect a master of *Spanish*, and, after his return in 1654, he married Mrs. *Osburn*; and, during the usurpation, passed his time privately with his father, two brothers and a sister, then in *Ireland*, all happy in that perfect kindness and agreement, which has been so often taken notice of in their family.

THE five years he lived there were spent chiefly in his closet, in improving himself in history and philosophy; and at that time he had five children, which he buried there. He refused all solicitations of entering into any employment under the usurper, and, at the happy restoration in 1660, was chosen member of the Convention in *Ireland*; and whilst every body was vying, who should make most court to the King, a pole bill was read. Though he and many others thought it to the height of what the nation could bear, the Lords Justices, whilst it was debating, sent a message to the house, to desire it might be doubled; which amongst a great many that disliked

liked it, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE only opposed, though the rest afterwards joined with him: the Lords Justices, that heard whence the difficulty came, sent some to reason it with him; his answer was, that he had nothing to say to it out of the house; where they chose a time to pass it in his absence. This made a great deal of talk, and brought him into more conversation and business, than he had been used to in that country.

AFTER this a Parliament was called there, and he chosen, with his father, for the county of *Castlow*, and often turned the house in their warmest debates, by never entering into any of their parties and factions, not minding whom he angered, or pleased. In 1662, he was chosen one of the Commissioners, to be sent from that Parliament to the King, and then waited on the new Lord-Lieutenant the Duke of *Ormond*: soon after he returned into *Ireland*, but with the resolution of quitting that kingdom, and removing his family into *England*: at his return he began to observe a very different countenance in the Duke of *Ormond*, from what he had found before, and soon grew to have so much share in his kindness and esteem, that the Duke complained to him, that he was the only man in *Ireland*, that had never asked him any thing; and, when he told him his design of carrying his family into *England*, said, he should at least give him leave to write in his favour to the two great Ministers, the Lord Chancellor and Earl of *Arlington*; and did it so much to his advantage, that his recommendation gave Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE the first entrance

entrance into their good graces, and the good opinion of the King; which he made no other use of, than to tell Lord *Arlington*, then Secretary of State, that if his Majesty had any employment abroad, which he thought such a man as he capable of serving him in, he should be very happy in it, but desired, it might not carry him into the northern climates, which he had a great aversion to: Lord *Arlington* said, he was sorry for it, because there was at that time no other undisposed of, but that of going envoy to *Sweden*.

IN 1665, about the beginning of the first *Dutch* war, Lord *Arlington* sent a messenger to him to come immediately to his house; which he did, and found his business was to tell him, the King had occasion to send one abroad upon an affair of the greatest trust and importance, and that he had resolved to make him the first offer of it, but that he must know presently whether he would accept of it, or no, without telling him what it was, and be content to go in three or four days, without saying more of it to any of his friends: after having considered a little, he told my Lord, he took him to be his friend, and, since he must consult with no body else, would be advised by him: he said, his advice was, that he should not refuse it, whether he liked it or no, as an entrance into his Majesty's service, and the way to something he might like better; and then told him, it was to go to the Bishop of *Munster*, and conclude a treaty between the King and him, by which, the Bishop should be obliged, upon receiving

receiving a certain sum of money, to enter immediately with his Majesty into the war with *Holland*. In *July* he began his journey to *Coefvelt*, and not long after the secret came out, that he had in very few days concluded and signed the treaty there, in which, his perfect knowledge in *Latin*, which he had retained, was of no little advantage to him, the Bishop conversing in no other language. After signing the treaty, he went to *Brussels*, saw the first payment made, and received the news that the Bishop was in the field, by which, this negotiation began first to be discovered; but no body suspected the part he had in it, who continued privately at *Brussels*, till it was whispered to the Marquis *Casfel Rodrigo* their Governor, that he came upon some particular errand (which he was then at liberty to own) who thereupon sent to desire his acquaintance, and that he might see him in private, to which he easily consented. Soon after a commission was sent him to be Resident at *Brussels* (which he had wished for in his travels thither so many years before) with a patent for a Baronet.

IN *April* 1666, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE sent for his family into *Flanders*, but before their arrival was posted again into *Munster*, to prevent the Bishop's making peace with the *Dutch*, which he threatened to do, upon the ill payments from *England*, and signed it at *Cleve* the very night Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE came to *Munster*; who, finding nothing was to be done, presently returned to *Brussels*, where he passed one year with great pleasure and satisfaction: before the

end of it the peace with the *Dutch* was concluded at *Breda*; and the spring after, in 1667, a new war broke out between *France* and *Spain*, which began by the *French* seizing several towns in *Flanders*, before they had time or warning enough to make any resistance, by which they fell so fast into their hands that *Brussels* was alarmed at their near approaches, and Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, knowing that they had not sufficient troops to defend the town, sent his Lady and family into *England*, but staid there with his sister till *Christmas* following, when the King sent for him to come over privately, and with orders to pass through *Holland*, and make Monsieur *De Wit* a visit in the way, which produced the great negotiation of the triple alliance. Upon which, in five days after his arrival at Court, he was dispatched back to the *Hague*, and in as many he concluded that famous treaty between *England*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*, so surprising at that time, and so much applauded; and with this began a trust and confidence between him and Monsieur *De wit*, from the experience, as well as assurance of truth and fairness in their dealings on both sides, which helped much to the ease and dispatch of those they were engaged in. After the ratifications were over, he had orders to return to *Brussels*, and endeavour to prevail with the *Spaniards* to consent to a peace with *France*, which was treated the next summer in 1668, at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, whither he was sent Ambassador extraordinary and mediator, and with his colleague Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, after many difficulties

ficulties and delays, at last brought it to a happy conclusion.

Soon after he was sent Ambaffador extraordinary to the States General, with instructions to confirm the triple alliance, and follicit the Emperor and *German* Princes by their Ministers, to enter into it; and being the first *English* Ambaffador, that had been there since King *James's* time, he was received and distinguished by all marks of regard and esteem they could exprefs for his character and person; and, by the good opinion he had gained, was able to bring the States into fuch measures, as M. *De Wit* faid, he was fure, was not in the power of any other man to do: he lived in confidence with that great Minister, by order from the King, and in constant and familiar conversation with the Prince of *Orange*, then eighteen years old, than which no man could have a more difficult part to act; and he compassed the chief design of his embaffy, in engaging the Emperor and *Spain* in the measures that were then desired: but in this time happened Madam's journey into *England*, fo well known to have changed them all; and though he had observed a difpofition in the Court before, to complain of the *Dutch* upon fmall occasions very unlike what he left it in, yet fufpected nothing, till Lord *Arlington* in *September*, 1669, hurried him over, by telling him, as foon as he received his letter, he fhould put his foot into the ftirrup. When he came to him, whom he always faw the firft, and thought he had never more reason to make hafte, he found he had not

not one word to say to him ; and, after making him wait a great while, only asked him several indifferent questions about his journey, and he was received next day as coldly by the King. The secret soon came out, and Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE was pressed to return to the *Hague*, and make way for a war with *Holland*, with which, less than two years before, he had been so much applauded, for having made so strict an alliance ; but he excused himself from having any share in it, which so much provoked the Lord Treasurer *Clifford*, that he refused to pay him an arrear of two thousand pounds, due from his embassy. All this passed without unkindness from the King ; but my Lord *Arlington's* usage, so unlike the friendship he had professed, was resented by Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE.

HE now retired to a house he had purchased at *Shene*, near *Richmond* ; and, in this interval of his leisure and retreat, writ his observations on the United Provinces, and one part of his *Miscellanies*.

ABOUT the end of the summer, 1673, the King growing weary of the second *Dutch* war, which was liked by few at Court, and none any where else, sent for Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, who was ever wanted upon that occasion, to go into *Holland* and conclude the peace ; towards which, overtures began now to be made on both sides ; but, powers having been sent at this time from thence to the Marquis *de Tresno* the *Spanish* Ambassador at *London*, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE was ordered to treat it with him, and
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in three days it was concluded, and the point of the flag carried, that had been so long contested. Upon this Lord *Arlington* offered him the embassy into *Spain*, which, for want of his father's consent, who was then old and infirm, he refused; and soon after, the place of Secretary of State, for want of six thousand pounds, which he was to lay down for it, and could not spare.

IN *June*, 1674, he was again sent Ambassador into *Holland*, with offer of the King's mediation between *France* and the Confederates, then at war, which was not long after accepted; and Lord *Berkely*, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, and Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, were declared Ambassadors and Mediators, and *Nimeguen* (which he had proposed) was consented to at last by all parties to be the place of treaty. During his stay at the *Hague*, the Prince of *Orange*, who was fond of speaking *English*, and of their plain way of eating, constantly dined and supped once or twice a week at his house, who thereby grew so much into the Prince's esteem and confidence, as gave him so great a part in that considerable affair of his marriage with Lady *Mary*, so well known in the world, and so particularly related in his memoirs: one advantage he made of it from an accident, that then happened, may be worth mentioning, because he reckoned it himself amongst the good fortunes of his life. There was five *English* men taken and brought to the *Hague*, whilst he was there, and in the Prince's absence, who were immediately tried, and condemned by a council of war, for deserting their colours; some of his servants

servants had the curiosity to visit their unfortunate countrymen, and came home with a deplorable story, that, by what they had heard, it seemed to be a mistake; and that they were all like to die innocent; but, however, that 'twas without remedy, that their graves were digging, and they were to be shot next morning. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE left nothing unattempted to prevent their sudden execution, and sent to the officers to threaten them, that he would complain first to the Prince, and then to the King, who, he was sure, would demand reparation, if so many of his subjects suffered unjustly: but nothing would move them, till he made it his last request to reprieve them one day, in which the Prince happened to come within reach of returning an answer to a message he sent; upon which they were released. The first thing they did was to go and see their graves, and the next to come and thank Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE upon their knees.

IN July 1676, he removed his family to *Nimwegen*, where he passed that year without making any progress in the treaty, that from several accidents was then at a stand; and, the year after, his son was sent over with letters from my Lord Treasurer to order him to return and succeed Mr. *Coventry* in his place of Secretary of State, which he made some difficulties of resigning, unless he had leave to name his successor; which the King refused, and fell into an ill humour upon it. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, who was not fond of the change, desired his Majesty to

to let it alone till all parties were agreed, and the treaty, he was then engaged in, concluded, to which he did not return that year. About this time, the Prince of *Orange*, having the King's leave to come over, soon after married Lady *Mary*; and from this happened another occasion of unkindness, between Lord *Arlington*, and him. My Lord Treasurer, who was related to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's Lady, and he being only in the secret of all that affair, upon which Lord *Arlington* said a very good thing, though not in very good humour, that some things were so ill in themselves, that the manner of doing them could not mend them, and others so good, that the manner, they were done in, could not spoil them; and that the Prince of *Orange*'s match was of the last sort. Lord *Arlington*'s coldness to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE began from his early acquaintance with the Lord Treasurer (they having travelled young together) and his relation to him by marriage; and he being now chief Minister in Lord *Arlington*'s room, and they two living in the last degree of ill intelligence with one another, it was impossible to keep the favour of both these great men, which was the true reason of Lord *Arlington*'s falling out with him, with whom, from circumstances better forgot than repeated, he could not afterwards live well. After the Prince and Princess were gone into *Holland*, the inclination at Court always leaning towards *France*, the King would have engaged Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE in some negotiations with that crown, so contrary to those he had been before

fore concerned in, and which he was so ill satisfied with, that he offered to give up his pretensions to the Secretary's place, which he desired my Lord Treasurer to acquaint his Majesty with, and so went to *Shene* with the hopes of being taken at his word, growing very weary, as Monsieur *De Wit* used to express it, of the perpetual fluctuation he had observed in all our counsels since Queen *Elizabeth's* reign. But, upon discovery of the *French* designs not to evacuate the *Spanish* towns agreed on by the treaty to be delivered up, the King commanded him to go upon a third embassy to the States, with whom he concluded a treaty, by which *England* was engaged, upon the refusal of the *French* to evacuate the towns in forty days, to declare immediate war with *France*: but, before half that time was run out, one *De Cros* was sent from our Court into *Holland*, upon an errand, that damped all the good humour that treaty had given them there, and the life it had put into all their affairs; and such sudden and surprising changes in our own, which Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE had seen too often to be astonished at, gave him a distaste to all public employments.

IN 1679, he went back to *Nimeguen*, where the *French* delayed signing the treaty to the last hour; which after he had concluded, he returned to the *Hague*, from whence he was soon sent for to enter upon the Secretary's place, which Mr. *Coventry* was at last resolved to part with, and my Lord *Sunderland*, who was newly come into the other, pressed him with so much earnestness

nessness to accept of. He very unwillingly obeyed his Majesty's commands to come over, having long had at heart a visit he had promised to make the Great Duke, as soon as his embassy was ended; having begun a particular acquaintance with him in *England*, and kept up a correspondence ever since. Besides, having so ill succeeded in the designs (which no man ever more steadily pursued in the course of his employments) of doing his country the best service, and advancing its honour and greatness to the height he thought it capable of being raised to, he resolved to ask leave of the King to retire; and indeed no body could have engaged in public affairs with a worse prospect than there was at this time, or in a more unpleasant scene; the *Popish* plot being newly broke out, which the King believed nothing of, the people frightened, and the Parliament violent in the prosecution of it. In this melancholy posture of affairs, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE came to Court, as all his friends hoped, with the design of entering upon the Secretary's place, which he made a difficulty of, because he was not in the house of Commons, and thought the public business would suffer thereby in so critical a time; in which the contests run so high between the two parties, that the King thought fit to send the Duke into *Flanders*, and the Parliament to put my Lord Treasurer into the Tower. After this his Majesty again pressed Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE to be Secretary of State, using this argument, That he had now no body to consult with at a time that he wanted the best advice.

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That which Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE gave him was, to trust his affairs no more in any one hand, but choose so many men as he pleased for his Privy Council, whom he should wholly trust and advise with; which in few days the King consented to, and the choice of the persons was wholly concerted between his Majesty and Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, who had leave next day to acquaint the Lord Chancellor, Lord *Sunderland* and Lord *Essex* with it; who all approved of the resolution, but thought it the greatest point that ever was gained by any Minister; and, three days after the old council was dissolved, this new one was established, of which Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE was one.

In 1680, the councils began again to be changed, upon the King's having been very ill the end of the summer; and the Duke's returning privately to Court, and his treatment from some of those persons, whom, from the King's dislike, if not aversion to, he found so difficult to bring into his favour and business, gave him a fresh distaste to Court and councils, whither he seldom went; the particulars of which are published in the Third Part of the Memoirs, that were only written (as he expressed it in the original, now in the hands of one of his family) for the private satisfaction of his friends.

Soon after this, the King sent for Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE again, and proposed going his Ambassador into *Spain*, and gave credit to an alliance pretended to be made with that crown against the meeting of the Parliament, upon which the

the *French* Ambassadors, much dissatisfied, said, it was enough to give vigour to the *Spanish* monarchy. When this equipage was almost ready, and part of the money for it paid, the King changed his mind, and told him, he would have him defer his journey till the end of the sessions of Parliament, of which he was chosen a member for the University of *Cambridge*, and in which the factions run so high, that he saw it impossible to bring them to any temper. The Duke was sent into *Scotland*: that would not satisfy them, nor any thing but a bill of exclusion, against which he always declared himself, being a legal man, and said, his endeavours should ever be to unite the Royal Family, but that he would never enter into any councils to divide them. This famous bill after long contests was thrown out, and the Parliament dissolved; and 'twas upon his Majesty's taking this resolution without the advice of his Privy Council, contrary to what he had promised, that Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE spoke so boldly there, and was so ill used for taking that liberty, by some of those friends, who had been most earnest in promoting the last change. Upon this he grew quite tired with public business, refused the offer he had of serving again for the university in the next Parliament, that was soon after called and met at *Oxford*, and was uneasy with the name of a Privy Counsellor, which he soon got rid of; and the Duke being returned, and all the councils changed, Lord *Sunderland's*, *Essex's*, and Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's names were by the King's order all struck out of the Council.

Council-book together ; upon which he took occasion to send the King word, that he would live the rest of his life as good a subject as any in his kingdoms, but never more meddle with public affairs: the King assured him that he was not at all angry ; and, though he lived from that time at *Shene* till 1685, without ever seeing the town or Court, and had the privilege of returning no visits that were made from thence by persons of the best quality and fortune, who during those five years frequented his house and table, yet he never failed of waiting on his Majesty, whenever he came into the neighbourhood, and no body was better received by his own master whilst he lived, and by King *James* afterwards, who often turned the whole conversation to him, as soon as he entered the room at *Richmond*.

ABOUT this time his only son Mr. TEMPLE (and the only child he had now left, having a few years before lost his favourite daughter DIANA of the small-pox at fourteen years of age) was married in *France* to Mademoiselle *Rambouillet*, a rich heiress, and only daughter of Monsieur *Dupleffis* a *French* Protestant of a very good family, a young Lady very eminent then for her rare accomplishments of body and mind, and more so since for her great piety and charity, with whom he lived near four years very happily, and at his death (that was a cruel blow to his father, in depriving him of such an only heir of his parts and virtues, as well as his fortune) he left only two daughters, that are now living, the eldest of which is married to Mr. JOHN TEMPLE, younger

younger son to Sir JOHN TEMPLE, who was Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's second brother, and esteemed one of the best lawyers in *Ireland*, and had been Solicitor and Attorney General there many years; to whom Archbishop *Sheldon* made a singular compliment, that he had the curse of the gospel, because all men spoke well of him: Mr. TEMPLE's youngest daughter is married to Mr. *Nicholas Bacon* of *Sbrubland* in the county of *Suffolk*.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE continued a year at *Shene*, and, having purchased a small seat called *Moor Park*, near *Farnham* in *Surrey*, which he took a great fancy to for its solitude and retirement, and the healthy and pleasant situation, and being much afflicted with the gout, and broken with age and infirmities, he resolved to pass the remainder of his life there, and in *November*, 1686, in his way thither, waited on King *James*, then at *Windsor*, and begged his favour and protection to one that would always live a good subject, but, whatever happened, never enter again upon any public employment, and desired his Majesty never to give credit to whatever he might hear to the contrary; the King, who used to say, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's character was always to be believed, promised him what he desired, made him some reproaches for not coming into his service, which he said was his own fault, and kept his word as faithfully to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, as he did to his Majesty during the surprising turn of affairs, that soon after followed by the Prince of *Orange's* coming over,

ver, which, whatever people may suspect, was so great a secret to him, that there is nothing surer, than that he was not only wholly unacquainted with it, but one of the last men in *England* that believed it.

At the time of this happy revolution in 1688, *Maor Park* growing unsafe by lying in the way of both armies, he went back to the house he had given up to his son at *Sbene*, who had been very uneasy at being denied the leave he had so impatiently begged of his father, to go and meet the Prince of *Orange* at his landing, which, in telling his principles of never engaging in any thing that seemed to divide the Royal Family, I have already given the best and truest reason of. After King *James's* abdication, and the Prince's arrival at *Windsor*, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE went to wait upon his Highness, and carried his son; the Prince pressed him to enter into his service, and to be Secretary of State; said, 'twas in kindness to him, that he had not been acquainted with his design, came to him two or three times at *Sbene*, and several of his friends made him very uneasy, in laying to his heart how much the Prince (who was his friend) his country and his religion, must suffer by his obstinate refusal to engage in their defence, that must give the world an ill opinion of this great undertaking, and make them mistrust some ill design at the bottom, which a man of his truth and honour did not care to be concerned in: and, though he continued unshaken in his resolutions, and very firm in keeping the promise he had made King *James*, that

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was mentioned before, yet he was very sensible of the trouble and uneasiness the Prince and all his friends expressed at it, and was the gladder to return to his retirement at *Moor Park*, about the end of the year 1689, to be out of the way of any more solicitations of that kind.

FROM that time he turned himself wholly to the cares and amusements of a country life, saw little company in a place so desolate, had the honour of being often consulted by King *William* in some of his secret and important affairs, and of a visit from him in his way from *Winchester*, and used to wait upon his Majesty at *Richmond* and *Windsor*, where he was always very graciously received with that easiness and familiarity, and particular confidence, that had began in *Holland* so many years before.

IN 1694, he had the misfortune to lose his Lady, who was a very extraordinary woman, as well as a good wife, of whom nothing more need be said to her advantage, than that she was not only much esteemed by her own friends and acquaintance, some of whom were persons of the greatest figure, but valued and distinguished by such good judges of true merit as King *William* and Queen *Mary*, with whom she had the honour to keep a constant correspondence, being justly admired for her fine stile and turn of wit in writing letters, and whom she outlived about a month; the deep affliction for her Majesty's most deplorable death having hastened her own. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE was then past sixty, at which age he practised what he had so often

often declared to be his opinion, that an old man ought then to conclude himself no longer of use in the world but to himself and his friends. He lived four years after extremely afflicted with the gout, which at last wore out his life ; and, with the help of age and a natural decay of strength and spirits, ended it in January, 1698, in his seventieth year. He was buried privately in *Westminster-Abbey*, according to his directions in his will, that were in these words.

“ I do order my body to be interred in the
“ west isle of *Westminster-Abbey*, near those two
“ dear pledges my wife and my daughter *DIANA*,
“ that lie there already, and that, after mine and
“ my sister *GIFFARD*’s decease, a large stone of
“ black marbie may be set up against the wall
“ with this inscription :

“ *Sibi suisque charissimis,*

“ *DIANÆ TEMPLE dilectissimæ filiæ,*

“ *DOROTHEÆ OSBORN conjunctissimæ conjugis,*

“ *Et MARTHÆ GIFFARD optimæ sorori,*

“ *Hoc quaecunque monumentum*

“ *Poni curavit*

“ *GULIELMUS TEMPLE, Baronettus.*

THIS marble monument was according to his order set up after the Lady *GIFFARD*’s death in 1722, who resembled him in his genius, as well as in his person, and left behind her the character of one of the best and most constant friends in the world.

A short CHARACTER of him.

I THINK nothing harder than to write any body's character, and that of a friend is still more difficult: if one tells truth, it is thought partiality; and if one does not, it is a real piece of injustice. I will try (by saying little) to avoid both imputations.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE's person is best known by his pictures and prints: he was rather tall than low; his shape, when young, very exact; his hair a dark brown, and curled naturally, and, whilst that was esteemed a beauty, no body had it in greater perfection; his eyes gray, but lively; and his body lean, but extreme active, so that none acquitted themselves better at all sorts of exercise.

He had an extraordinary spirit and life in his humour, with so agreeable turns of wit and fancy in his conversation, that no body was welcomer in all sorts of company, and some have observed, that he never had a mind to make any body kind to him without compassing his design.

He was an exact observer of truth, thinking none that had failed once ought ever to be trusted again; of nice points of honour; of great humanity and good nature, taking pleasure in making others easy and happy; his passions naturally warm and quick, but tempered by reason and thought; his humour gay, but very unequal from cruel fits of spleen and melancholy, being subject to great damps from sudden changes of weather, but chiefly from the crosses and surprising turns in his business, and disappointments he met with so often in his endeavours to contribute to the honour and

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service

service of his country, which he thought himself two or three times so near compassing, that he could not think with patience of what had hindered it, or of those that he thought had been the occasion of his disappointments.

HE never seemed busy in his greatest employments, was a great lover of liberty, and therefore hated the servitude of courts, said he could never serve for wages, nor be busy (as one is so often there) to no purpose; and never was willing to enter upon any employment but that of a public Minister.

HE had been a passionate lover, was a kind husband, a fond and indulgent father, a good master, and the best friend in the world; and, knowing himself to be so, was impatient of the least suspicion or jealousy from those he loved. He was ever kind to the memory of those he had once liked and esteemed; wounded to the heart by grief, upon the many losses of his children and friends, 'till recovered by reason and philosophy, and that perfect resignation to Almighty God, which he thought so absolute a part of our duty, upon those sad occasions, often saying, His holy name be praised: His will be done.

HE was not without strong aversions, so as to be uneasy at the first sight of some he disliked, and impatient of their conversation; apt to be warm in disputes and expostulations, which made him hate the one, and avoid the other; which, he used to say, might sometimes do well between lovers, but never between friends; he turned his conversation to what was more easy and pleasant, especially at table, where, he said, ill humour ought never to come, and his agreeable talk at it, if it had been set down, would have been very entertaining to the reader, as well as to so many that had heard it.

He

He had a very familiar way of conversing with all sorts of people, from the greatest princes to the meanest servants, and even children, whose imperfect language and natural and innocent talk he was fond of, and made entertainment out of every thing that could afford it: when that, he liked best failed, the next served turn.

He lived healthful 'till forty two, then began to be troubled with rheums upon his teeth and eyes, which he attributed to the air of *Holland*, and which ended, when he was forty seven, in the gout, upon which he grew very melancholy, being then Ambassador at the *Hague*; he said, a man was never good for any thing after it; and though he continued in business near three years longer, 'twas always with design of winding himself out as fast as he could; and making good his own rules, that no body should make love after forty, nor be in business after fifty: and though from this time he had frequent returns of ill health, he never cared to consult physicians; saying, he hoped to die without them; and trusted wholly to the care and advice of his friends, which he often express'd himself so happy in, as to want nothing, but health; which since riches could not help him to, he despised them.

He was born to a moderate estate, and did not much increase it during his employments, which, he tells his son, in his letter to him before the second part of his memoirs, *it is fit, should contribute something to his entertainment, since they had done so little to his fortunes, upon which he could make him no excuse, since it was so often in his power, that it was never in his thoughts, which were ever turned upon how much less he wanted, rather than how much more.* And, in a fine strain of philosophy, he concludes, *If your's have the same turn, you will be but too rich; if the contrary, you will be ever poor.*

poor. King *Charles II.* gave him the reversion of the Master of the rolls place in *Ireland*, after his father, who kept it during his life, and the presents made him, in his several embassies, were chiefly laid out in building and planting, and in purchasing old statues and pictures, that still remain in his family, which were his only expence or extravagance, but not too great for his income. Those that knew him little, thought him rich; to whom he used to answer pleasantly, that he wanted nothing but an estate; and yet no body was more generous to his friends, or more charitable to the poor, in giving often to true objects of charity a hundred pounds at a time, and sometimes three hundred.

His religion was that of the church of *England*, in which he was born and bred; and how loose soever Bishop *Burnet*, in his history of his own times, represents his principles (from that common-place of hearsay that runs through the whole, for he was not acquainted with Sir *WILLIAM*), yet there is no ground for such uncharitable reflexions given in his writings, in which his excellent letter to the Countess of *Essex* is a convincing proof both of his piety and eloquence; and to that picture, drawn by himself in his works, I refer those that care either to know or to imitate him.

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OBSERVA

OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
UNITED PROVINCES
OF THE
NETHERLANDS.

By Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE* of *Shene*,
in the County of *Surrey*, Baronet, Ambassador
at the *Hague*, and at *Aix-la-chapelle*, in the
year 1668.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

UNITED PROVINCES

OF THE

WEST INDIES.

By Sir WILLIAM P. M. P. of St. John's
in the County of Surrey, Baronet, Ambassador
at the Hague, and at Amsterdam, in the
year 1668.

P R E F A C E.

HAVING lately seen the state of the United Provinces, after a prodigious growth in riches, beauty, extent of commerce, and number of inhabitants, arrived at length to such a height (by the strength of their natives, their fortified towns and standing-forces, with a constant revenue, proportioned to the support of all this greatness) as made them the envy of some, the fear of others, and the wonder of all their neighbours:

We have, this Summer past, beheld the same state, in the midst of great appearing safety, order, strength and vigour, almost ruin'd and broken to pieces, in some few days; and by very few blows; and reduced in a manner to its first principles of weakness and distress; exposed, oppressed, and very near at mercy. Their inland provinces swallowed up by an invasion, almost as sudden, and unresisted, as the inundations to which the others are subject. And the remainders of their state rather kept alive by neglect or disconcert of its enemies, than by any strength of nature, or endeavours at its own recovery.

Now, because such a greatness, and such a fall of this state, seem revolutions unparallel'd in any story, and hardly conceiv'd, even by those who have lately seen them; I thought it might be worth an idle man's time, to give some account of the rise and progress of this commonwealth, the causes of their greatness, and the steps towards their fall: which were all made by

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motions

motions, perhaps, little taken notice of by common eyes, and almost undiscernible to any man, that was not placed to the best advantage, and something concerned, as well as much inclined to observe them.

The usual duty of employments abroad, imposed not only by custom, but by orders of State, made it fit for me to prepare some formal account of this country and government, after two years embassy, in the midst of great conjunctures and negotiations among them. And such a revolution as has since happened there, though it may have made these discourses a little important to his Majesty, or his council; yet it will not have rendered them less agreeable to common eye, who, like men that live near the sea, will run out upon the cliffs to gaze at it in a storm, though they would not look out of their windows, to see it in a calm.

Besides, at a time when the actions of this scene take up, so generally, the eyes and discourses of their neighbours, and the maps of their country grow so much in request; I thought a map of their State and government would not be unwelcome to the world, since it is full as necessary as the others to understand the late revolutions and changes among them. And as no man's story can be well written till he is dead; so the account of this State could not be well given till its fall, which may be justly dated from the events of last summer (whatever fortunes may further attend them), since therein we have seen the sudden and violent dissolution of that more popular government, which had continued, and made so much noise, for above twenty years, in the world, without the exercise or influence of the authority of the Princes of Orange,

Orange, a Part so essential in the first constitutions of their State. Nor can I wholly lose my pains in this adventure, when I shall gain the ease of answering this way, at once, those many questions I have lately been used to upon this occasion: which made me first observe, and wonder, how ignorant we were, generally, in the affairs and constitutions of a country, so much in our eye, the common road of our travels, as well as subject of our talk, and which we have been, of late, not only curious, but concerned, to know.

I am very sensible, how ill a trade it is to write, where much is ventured, and little can be gained; since whoever does it ill, is sure of contempt; and the justliest that can be, when no man provokes him to discover his own follies, or to trouble the world. If he writes well, he raises the envy of those wits that are possessed of the vogue, and are jealous of their preferment there, as if it were in love, or in state; and have found, that the nearest way to their own reputation lies, right or wrong, by the derision of other men. But, however, I am not in pain; for it is the affectation of praise, that makes the fear of reproach; and I write without other design than of entertaining very idle men, and, among them, myself. For I must confess, that being wholly useless to the public, and unacquainted with the cares of increasing riches, which busy the world; being grown cold to the pleasures of younger or livelier men; and having ended the entertainments of building and planting, which use to succeed them; finding little taste in common conversation, and trouble in much reading, from the care of my eyes, since an illness contracted by many unnecessary diligences in my employments abroad:

there

there can hardly be found an idler man than I, nor, consequently, one more excusable for giving way to such amusements as this: having nothing to do, but to enjoy the ease of a private life and fortune, which, as I know no man envies, so, I thank God, no man can reproach.

I am not ignorant, that the vein of reading never ran lower than in this age; and seldom goes farther than the design of raising a stock to furnish some calling or conversation. The desire of knowledge being either laughed out of doors, by the wit that pleases the age, or beaten out by interest that so much possesses it; and the amusement of books, giving way to the liberties or refinements of pleasure that were formerly less known, or less avowed than now. Yet some there will always be found in the world, who ask no more at their idle hours, than to forget themselves; and whether that be brought about by drink or play, by love or business, or by some diversions as idle as this, it is all a case.

Besides, it may possibly fall out, at one time or other, that some Prince, or great Minister, may not be ill pleased in these kind of memorials (upon such a subject) to trace the steps of trade and riches, of order and power in a State, and those likewise of weak or violent councils, of corrupt or ill conduct, of faction or obstinacy, which decay and dissolve the firmest governments; that so, by reflections upon foreign events, they may provide the better and the earlier against those at home, and raise their own honour and happiness, by equal degrees with the prosperity and safety of the nations they govern.

For,

For, under favour of those who would pass for wits in our age, by saying things which, David tells us, the fool said in his; and set up, with bringing those wares to market, which, God knows, have been always in the world, though kept up in corners, because they used to mark their owners, in former ages, with the names of buffoons, profane or impudent men, who deride all form and order, as well as piety and truth; and, under the notion of fopperies, endeavour to dissolve the very bonds of all civil society; though, by the favour and protection thereof, they themselves enjoy so much greater proportions of wealth, and of pleasures, than would fall to their share, if all lay in common, as they seem to design (for then such possessions would belong of right to the strongest and bravest among us).

Under favour of such men, I believe it will be found, at one time or other, by all who shall try, that whilst human nature continues what it is, the same orders in State, the same discipline in armies, the same virtues and dispositions of Princes and Magistrates, derived, by interest or imitation, into the customs and humours of the people, will ever have the same effects upon the strength and greatness of all governments, and upon the honour and authority of those that rule, as well as the happiness and safety of those that obey.

Nor are we to think Princes themselves losers, or less entertained, when we see them employ their time and their thoughts in so useful speculations, and to so glorious ends: but that rather thereby they attain their true prerogative of being happier, as well as greater, than subjects can be. For all the pleasures
of

of sense that any man can enjoy, are within the reach of a private fortune and ordinary contrivance; grow fainter with age, and duller with use; must be revived with intermissions, and wait upon the returns of appetite, which are no more at call of the rich than the poor. The flashes of wit and good humour that rise from the vapours of wine, are little different from those that proceed from the heats of blood in the first approaches of fevers or frenzies, and are to be valued, but as (indeed) they are, the effects of distemper. But the pleasures of imagination, as they heighten and refine the very pleasures of sense, so they are of larger extent, and longer duration; and if the most sensual man will confess there is a pleasure in pleasing, he must likewise allow there is good to a man's self, in doing good to others: and the further this extends, the higher it rises, and the longer it lasts. Besides, there is beauty in order, and there are charms in well-deserved praise: and both are the greater, by how much greater the subject; as the first appearing in a well-framed and well-governed State, and the other arising from noble and generous actions. Nor can any veins of good humour be greater than those that swell by the success of wise counsels, and by the fortunate events of public affairs; since a man that takes pleasure in doing good to ten thousand, must needs have more, than he that takes none but in doing good to himself.

But these thoughts lead me too far, and to little purpose; therefore I shall leave them for those I had first in my head, concerning the State of the United Provinces.

And

And whereas the greatness of their strength and revenues grew out of the vastness of their trade, into which their religion, their manners and dispositions, their situation and the form of their government, were the chief ingredients: and this last had been raised, partly upon an old foundation, and partly with materials brought together by many and various accidents: it will be necessary, for the survey of this great frame, to give some account of the rise and progress of their State, by pointing out the most remarkable occasions of the first, and periods of the other; to discover the nature and constitutions of their government in its several parts, and the motions of it, from the first and smallest wheels; to observe what is peculiar to them in their situation or dispositions, and what in their religion; to take a survey of their trade, and the causes of it; of the forces and revenues which composed their greatness, and the circumstances and conjunctures which conspired to their fall. And these are the heads that shall make the order and arguments in the several parts of these Observations.

OBSERVA-

PREFACE

And whereas the grounds of their strength and
weakness are an object of their study, in-
stead of their being a mere matter of dispo-
sition, their situation and the form of their govern-
ment, which the chief ingredients: and the last had
been treated partly as a matter of fact, and partly
as a matter of opinion, and it was not until a recent
period: it will be necessary for the purpose of this
great work, to give some account of the rise and
progress of their study, by pointing out the most re-
markable evolution of the mind, and periods of the o-
ther: to discover the nature and constitution of their
government in its several parts, and the manner of
it, from the first and earliest periods: to observe
what is peculiar to them in their situation or dispo-
sition, and what in their religion; to show the way
of their study, and the steps of it, of the forms
and reasons which compose their grounds, and the
circumstances and conditions which are opposed to
their fall. And this is the main part of the
the order and argument in the several parts of this
Observation.

OBSEVA

1781

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

UNITED PROVINCES

OF THE

NETHERLANDS.

WHOEVER will take a view of the rise of this commonwealth, must trace it up as high as the first commotions in the *Seventeen Provinces*, under the Dukes of *Parma's* government; and the true causes of that more avowed and general revolt in the Duke of *Alva's* time : and, to find out the natural springs of those revolutions, must reflect upon that sort of government under which the inhabitants of those provinces lived for so many ages past, in the subjection of their several Dukes or Counts, till, by marriages, successions, or conquest, they came to be united in the house of *Burgundy*, under *Philip* surnamed *The Good* : and afterwards in that of *Austria*, under *Philip* father of *Charles*, in the person of that great Emperor incorporated with those vast dominions of *Germany* and *Spain*, *Italy* and the *Indies*.

Nor will it be from the purpose, upon this search, to run a little higher into the antiquities of these countries; for though most men are contented only to see a river as it runs by them, and talk of the changes in it, as they happen; when it is troubled, or when clear; when it drowns the country in a flood, or forsakes it in a drought: yet he, that would know the nature of the water, and the causes of those accidents (so as to guess at their continuance or return) must find out its source, and observe with what strength it rises, what length it runs,

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and

and how many small streams fall in, and feed it to such a height, as make it either delightful or terrible to the eye, and useful or dangerous to the country about it.

The numbers and fury of the northern nations, under many different names, having by several inundations broken down the whole frame of the *Roman* empire, (extended in their provinces as far as the *Rhine*) either gave a birth, or made way for the several kingdoms and principalities, that have since continued in the parts of *Europe* on this side that river, which made the ancient limits of the *Gallick* and *German* nations. The tract of land, which we usually call the *Low-Countries*, was so wasted by the invasions or marches of this raging people (who passed by them to greater conquests) that the inhabitants grew thin; and, being secure of nothing they possessed, fell to seek the support of their lives, rather by hunting, or by violence, than by labour and industry; and thereby the grounds came to be uncultivated, and in the course of years turned either to forest, or marshes; which are the two natural soils of all desolated lands in the more temperate regions. For by soaking of frequent showers, and the course of waters from the higher into the lower grounds, when there is no issue that helps them to break out into a channel, the flat land grows to be a mixture of earth and water, and neither of common use nor passage to men or beasts, which is called a marsh. The higher, and so the drier parts, moistened by the rain, and warmed by the sun, shoot forth some sorts of plants, as naturally as bodies do some sort of hair, which being preserved by the desolateness of a place untrodden, as well as untilled, grow to such trees or shrubs as are natural to the soil; and those in time, producing both food and shelter for several kinds of beasts, make the sort of country we call a *Forest*.

And such was *Flanders* for many years before *Charles* the fifth's time, when the power of the *Franks*, having raised

raised and established a great kingdom of their own, upon the intire conquest of *Gaul*, began to reduce the disorders of that country to the form of a civil, or (at least) military government; to make divisions and distributions of lands and jurisdictions, by the bounty of the Prince, or the services of his chief followers and commanders: to one of whom a great extent of this land was given, with the title of *Forester of Flanders*. This office continued for several descents, and began to civilize the country, by repressing the violence of robbers and spoilers, who infested the woody and fast places, and by encouraging the milder people to fall into civil societies, to trust to their industry for subsistence, to laws for protection, and to their arms united under the care and conduct of their governors, for safety and defence.

In the time of *Charlemaign*, as some write, or, as others, in that of *Charles the Bald*, *Flanders* was erected into a county, which changed the title of *Forester* for that of *Count*, without interrupting the succession.

What the extent of this county was at first, or how far the jurisdiction of *Foresters* reached, I cannot affirm; or whether it only bordered upon, or included the lower parts of the vast woods of *Ardenne*, which, in *Charlemaign's* time, was all forest as high as *Aix*, and the rough country for some leagues beyond it, and was used commonly by that Emperor for his hunting: this appears by the ancient records of that city, which attribute the discovery, or, at least, retrieving the knowledge of those hot baths, to the fortune of that Prince, while he was hunting: for his horse, poching one of his legs into some hollow ground, made way for the smoking water to break out, and gave occasion for the Emperor's building that city, and making it his usual seat, and the place of coronation for the following Emperors.

Holland,

Holland, being an island made by the dividing branches of the ancient *Rhine*, and called formerly *Bataria*, was esteemed rather a part of *Germany* than *Gaul*, (between which it was seated) in regard of its being planted by the *Catti*, a great and ancient people of *Germany*, and was treated by the *Romans* rather as an allied than a subjected province; who drew from thence no other tribute besides bands of soldiers much esteemed for their valour, and joined as auxiliaries to their legions in their *Gallick*, *German*, and *British* wars.

'Tis probable, this island changed in a great measure inhabitants and customs, as well as names, upon the inroads of the barbarous nations, but chiefly of the *Normans* and *Danes*, from whose countries and language the names of *Holland* and *Zealand* seem to be derived. But, about the year 860, a son of the Count of *Frize*, by a daughter of the Emperor *Lewis II.* was by him instituted Count of *Holland*, and gave beginning to that title; which, running since that time through so many direct or collateral successions and some usurpations, came to an end at last in *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, by the defection of the *United Provinces*.

Under these *Foresters* and *Counts* (who began to take those wasted countries and mixed people into their care, and to intend the growth, strength, and riches of their subjects, which they esteemed to be their own;) many old and demolished castles were rebuilt, many new ones erected, and given by the Princes to those of their subjects or friends, whom they most loved or esteemed, with large circuits of lands for their support, and seigneurial jurisdiction over the inhabitants: and this upon several easy conditions, but chiefly of attendance on their Prince at the necessary times of either honouring him in peace, or serving him in war. Nay possibly, some of those seigneuries and their jurisdictions may, as they pretend, have been the remains of some old principalities in those countries among the *Gallick* and

German

German nations, the first institutions whereof were lost in the immensity of time that preceded the *Roman* discoveries or conquest, and might be derived perhaps from the first paternal dominion, or concurrence of loose people into orderly neighbourhoods, with a deference, if not subjection, to the wisest or bravest among them.

Under the same Counts were either founded or restored many cities and towns; of which the old had their ancient freedoms and jurisdictions confirmed, or others annexed; and the new had either the same granted to them by example of the others, or great immunities and privileges for the encouragement of inhabitants to come and people in them: all these constitutions agreeing much in substance, perhaps by imitation, or else by the agreeing nature of the people, for whom, or by whom, they were framed, but differing in form according to the difference of their original, or the several natures, customs, and interests of the Princes, whose concessions many of them were, and all their permissions.

Another constitution which entered deep into their government, may be derived from another source. For those *Northern* nations, whose unknown language and countries perhaps made them be called *Barbarous*, (though indeed almost all nations out of *Italy* and *Greece* were styled so by the *Romans*) but whose victories in obtaining new seats, and orders in possessing them, might make us allow them for a better policyed people, than they appeared by the vastness of their multitude, or the rage of their battles:

Wherever they passed, and seated their colonies and dominions, they left a constitution which has since been called, in most *European* languages, *the States*; consisting of three orders, *Noble*, *Ecclesiastical*, and *Popular*, under the limited principality of one person, with the style of *King*, *Prince*, *Duke*, or *Count*. The remainders,

mainders, at least, or traces hereof, appear still in all the principalities founded by those people in *Italy*, *France*, and *Spain*; and were of a piece with the present constitutions in most of the great dominions on the other side of the *Rhine*: and it seems to have been a temper first introduced by them between the tyranny of the eastern kingdoms, and the liberty of the *Grecian* or *Roman* commonwealths.

'Tis true, the *Goths* were gentiles when they first broke into the *Roman* empire, till one great swarm of this people, upon treaty with one of the *Roman* Emperors, and upon concessions of a great tract of land to be a seat for their nation, embraced at once the christian faith. After which, the same people breaking out of the limits had been allowed them, and by fresh numbers bearing all down where they bent their march; as they were a great means of propagating religion in many parts of *Europe*, where they extended their conquests; so the zeal of these new profelytes, warmed by the veneration they had for their Bishops and Pastors, and enriched by the spoils and possession of so vast countries, seems to have been the first that introduced the maintenance of the churches and clergy, by endowments of lands, lordships, and vassals, appropriated to them: for before this time the authority of the priesthood in all religions seemed wholly to consist in the people's opinion of their piety, learning, or virtues, or a reverence for their character and mystical ceremonies and institutions; their support, or their revenues, in the voluntary oblations of pious men, the bounty of Princes, or in a certain share out of the labours and gains of those who lived under their cure, and not in any subjection of mens lives or fortunes, which belonged wholly to the civil power: and *Am-
mianus*, though he taxes the luxury of the Bishops in *Valentinian's* time, yet he speaks of their riches, which occasioned or fomented it, as arising wholly from the oblations

UNITED PROVINCES of the NETHERLANDS. 7

oblations of the people. But the devotion of these new Christians introducing this new form of endowing their churches; and afterwards *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*, Kings of the *Franks*, upon their victories in *Italy*, and the favour of the *Roman* Bishop to their title and arms, having annexed great territories and jurisdictions to that see: this example, or custom, was followed by most Princes of the northern races through the rest of *Europe*, and brought into the clergy great possessions of lands, and by a necessary consequence a great share of temporal power, from the dependences of their subjects or tenants; by which means, they came to be generally one of the three orders that composed the assembly of the states in every country.

This constitution of the states had been established from time immemorial in the several provinces of the *Low-Countries*, and was often assembled for determining disputes about succession of their Princes, where doubtful or contested; for deciding those between the great towns; for raising a milice for the defence of their countries in the wars of their neighbours; for advice in time of dangers abroad, or discontents at home; but always upon the new succession of a Prince, and upon any new impositions that were necessary on the people. The use of this assembly was another of those liberties, whereof the inhabitants of these provinces were so fond and so tenacious. The rest, besides those ancient privileges already mentioned of their towns, were concessions and graces of several Princes; in particular, exemptions or immunities, jurisdictions both in choice and exercise of magistracy and civil judicature within themselves; or else in the customs of using none but natives in charges and offices, and passing all weighty affairs by the great council composed of the great Lords of the country, who were in a manner all temporal, there being but three Bishops in all the

the Seventeen Provinces, till the time of *Philip II. of Spain.*

The revenues of these Princes consisted in their ancient demesnes, in small customs (which yet grew considerable by the greatness of trade in the maritime towns) and in the voluntary contributions of their subjects, either in the states or in particular cities, according to the necessities of their Prince, or the affections of the people. Now were these frequent; for the forces of these Counts were composed of such Lords, who, either by their governments, or other offices, or by the tenure of their lands, were obliged to attend their Prince on horseback, with certain numbers of men, upon all his wars: or else of a milice, which was called *Les gens d'ordonnance*, who served on foot, and were not unlike our train-bands; the use, or at least style whereof was renewed in *Flanders* upon the last war with *France* in 1667, when the Count *Egmont* was made, by the Governor, *General de gens d'ordonnance*.

These forces were defrayed by the cities or countries, as the others were raised by the Lords when occasion required; and all were licensed immediately when it was past, so that they were of little charge to the Prince. His wars were but with other Princes of his own size, or competitors to his principality; or sometimes with the mutinies of his great towns; short, though violent; and decided by one battle or siege; unless they fell into the quarrels between *England* and *France*, and then they were engaged but in the skirts of the war, the gross of it being waged between the two Kings, and these smaller Princes made use of for the credit of alliance, or sometimes the commodiousness of a diversion, rather than for any great weight they made in the main of the affair.

The most frequent wars of the Counts of *Holland* were with the *Frizons*, a part of the old *Saxons*; and the fiercest battles of some of the Counts of *Flanders* were with

with the *Normans*, who passed that way into *France*, and were the last of those nations that have infested the more southern parts of *Europe*. I have sometimes thought, how it should have come to pass, that the infinite swarm of that vast northern-hive, which so often shook the world like a great tempest, and overflowed it like a torrent; changing names, and customs, and government, and language, and the very face of nature, where-ever they seated themselves; which, upon record of story, under the name of *Gauls*, pierced into *Greece* and *Italy*, sacking *Rome*, and besieging the capitol in *Camillus's* time; under that of the *Cimbers*, marched through *France*, to the very confines of *Italy*, defended by *Marius*; under that of *Hunns* or *Lombards*, *Visigoths*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, conquered the whole forces of the *Roman* empire, sacked *Rome* thrice in a small compass of years, seated three kingdoms in *Spain* and *Afric*, as well as *Lombardy*; and, under that of *Danes* or *Normans*, possessed themselves of *England*, a great part of *France*, and even of *Naples* and *Sicily*: how (I say) these nations, which seemed to spawn in every age, and at some intervals of time discharged their own native countries of so vast numbers, and with such terror to the world, should, about seven or eight hundred years ago, leave off the use of these furious expeditions, as if on a sudden they should have grown barren, or tame, or better contented with their own ill climates. But, I suppose, we owe this benefit wholly to the growth and progress of christianity in the north, by which, early and undistinguished copulation, or multitude of wives, were either restrained or abrogated: by the same means learning and civility got footing among them in some degree, and inclosed certain circuits of those vast regions, by the distinctions and bounds of kingdoms, principalities, or commonalties. Men began to leave their wilder lives, spent without other cares or pleasures, than of

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food, or of lust; and betook themselves to the ease and entertainment of societies: with order and labour, riches began, and trade followed; and these made way for luxury, and that for many diseases or ill habits of body, which, unknown to the former and simpler ages, began to shorten and weaken both life and procreation. Besides, the division and circles of dominion occasioned wars between the several nations, though of one faith; and those of the *Poles*, *Hungarians*, and *Muscovites*, with the *Turks* or *Tartars*, made greater slaughterers; and by these accidents, I suppose, the numbers of those fertile broods have been lessened, and their limits in a measure confined; and we have had thereby, for so long together in these parts of the world, the honour and liberty of drawing our own blood, upon the quarrels of humour or avarice, ambition or pride, without the assistance, or need, of any barbarous nations to destroy us.

But to end this digression, and return to the *Low-Countries*, where the government lasted, in the form and manner described (though in several principalities) till *Philip* of *Burgundy*, in whom all the Seventeen Provinces came to be united.

By this great extent of a populous country, and the mighty growth of trade in *Bruges*, *Gant*, and *Antwerp*, (attributed by *Comines* to the goodness of the Princes, and ease and safety of the people) both *Philip*, and his son *Charles* the *Hardy*, found themselves a match for *France*, then much weakened, as well by the late wars with *England*, as the factions of their Princes. And in the wars of *France*, was the house of *Burgundy*, under *Charles* and *Maximilian* of *Austria* (who married his daughter and heir) and afterwards under *Charles* V. their grand-child, almost constantly engaged; the course, successes, and revolutions whereof are commonly known.

Philip of *Burgundy*, who began them, was a good
and

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and wise Prince, loved by his subjects, and esteemed by his enemies; and took his measures so well, that, upon the declining of the *English* greatness abroad; by their dissensions at home, he ended his quarrels in *France*, by a peace, with safety and honour; so that he took no pretence from his greatness, or his wars, to change any thing in the forms of his government: but *Charles* the *Hardy* engaged more rashly against *France* and the *Switzers*, began to ask greater and frequent contributions of his subjects; which, gained at first by the credit of his father's government and his own great designs, but spent in an unfortunate war, made his people discontented, and him disesteemed, till he ended an unhappy life, by an untimely death, in the battle of *Nancy*.

In the time of *Maximilian*, several *German* troops were brought down into *Flanders*, for their defence against *France*; and in that of *Charles V.* much greater forces of *Spaniards* and *Italians*, upon the same occasion; a thing unknown to the *Low-Country-men* in the time of their former Princes. But, through the whole course of this Emperor's reign, who was commonly on the fortunate hand, his greatness and fame, increasing together, either diverted or suppressed any discontents of his subjects upon the increase of their payments, or the grievance of so many foreign troops among them. Besides, *Charles* was of a gentle and a generous nature; and, being born in the *Low-Countries*, was naturally kind and easy to that people, whose customs and language he always used when he was among them, and employed all their great men in the charges of his court, his government, or his armies, through the several parts of his vast dominions; so that, upon the last great action of his life, which was the resignation of his crowns to his son and brother, he left to *Philip II.* the *Seventeen Provinces*, in a condition as peaceable,

peaceable, and as loyal, as either Prince or subjects could desire.

Philip II. coming to the possession of so many and great dominions, about the year 1556, after some trial of good and ill fortune in the war with *France*, (which was left him by his father, like an incumbrance upon a great estate) restored, by the peace of *Cambray* not only the quiet of his own countries, but in a manner of all Christendom, which was in some degree or other engaged in the quarrels of these Princes. After this, he resolved to return into *Spain*, and leave the *Low-Countries* under a subordinate government, which had been till *Charles V.*'s time the constant seat of their Princes, and shared the presence of that great Emperor, with the rest of his dominions. But *Philip*, a *Spaniard* born, retaining from the climate or education of that country, the severeness and gravity of that nation, which the *Flemings* called reservedness and pride; conferring the offices of his house, and the honour of his council and confidence, upon *Spaniards*, and thereby introducing their customs, habits, and language into the Court of *Flanders*; continuing, after the peace, those *Spanish* and *Italian* forces, and the demand of supplies from the States which the war had made necessary, and the easier supported, he soon left off being loved, and began to be feared by the inhabitants of those provinces.

But *Philip II.* thought it not agreeing with the pomp and greatness of the house of *Austria*, already at the head of so mighty dominions, nor with his designs of a yet greater empire, to consider the discontents or grievances of so small a country; nor to be limited by their ancient forms of government: and therefore, at his departure from *Spain*, and substitution of his natural sister the Duchess of *Parma* for Governess of the *Low-Countries*, assisted by the ministry of *Granvell*, he left her instructed to continue the foreign troops, and the

the demand of money from the States for their support, which was now by a long course of war grown customary among them, and the sums only disputed between the Prince and the States: to establish the fourteen Bishops, he had agreed with the Pope, should be added to the three, that were antiently in the *Low-Countries*: to revive the edicts of *Charles V.* against *Luther*, published in a diet of the empire about the year 1550, but eluded in the *Low-Countries* even in that Emperor's time; and thereby to make way for the inquisition with the same course it had received in *Spain*, of which the *Lutherans* here, and the *Moors* there, were made an equal pretence. And these points, as they came to be owned and executed, made the first commotions of men's minds in the Provinces.

The hatred of the people against the *Spaniards*, and the insolencies of those troops, with the charge of their support, made them looked upon by the inhabitants in general, as the instruments of their oppression and slavery, and not of their defence, when a general peace had left them no enemies: and therefore the States began here their complaints, with a general consent and passion of all the nobles, as well as towns and country. And, upon the delays that were contrived, or fell in, the States first refused to raise any more monies, either for the *Spaniards* pay, or their own standing troops; and the people ran into so great despair, that in *Zealand* they absolutely gave over the working at their digues, suffering the sea to gain every tide upon the country; and resolving (as they said) rather to be devoured by that element, than by the *Spanish* soldiers: so that after many disputes and intrigues, between the Governess and the Provinces, the King, upon her remonstrances, was induced to their removal; which was accordingly performed with great joy and applause of the people.

The erecting of fourteen new Bishops sees raised the
next

next contest. The great Lords looked upon this innovation as a lessening of their power, by introducing so many new men into the great council. The Abbots (out of whose lands they were to be endowed) pleaded against it, as a violent usurpation upon the rites of the Church, and the will of the dead, who had given those lands to a particular use. The commons murmured at it, as a new degree of oppression upon their conscience or liberty, by the erecting of so many new spiritual courts of judicature, and so great a number of judges, being seventeen for three, that were before in the country, and those depending absolutely upon the Pope, or the King. And all men declaimed against it, as a breach of the King's oath at his accession to the government, for the preserving the Church and the laws in the same state he found them. However this point was gained intirely by the Governess, and carried over the head of all opposition, though not without leaving a general discontent.

In the midst of these ill humours stirring in *Flanders*, the wars of religion breaking out in *France* drove great numbers of *Calvinists*, into all those parts of the *Low-Countries* that confine upon *France*, as the troubles of *Germany* had before of *Lutherans* into the provinces about the *Rhine*; and the prosecutions under Queen *Mary* those of the Church of *England* into *Flanders* and *Brabant*, by the great commerce of this kingdom with *Bruges* and *Antwerp*.

These accidents and neighbourhoods filled these countries in a small tract of time, with swarms of the reformed professors: and the admiration of their zeal, the opinion of their doctrine and piety, the compassion of their sufferings, the infusion of their discontents, or the humour of the age, gained them every day many proselytes in the *Low-Countries*, some among the nobles, many among the villages, but most among the cities, whose trade and riches were much increased

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by these new inhabitants; and whose interest thereby, as well as conversation, drew them on to their favour.

This made work for the *inquisition*, though moderately exercised by the prudence and temper of the Governess, mediating between the rigour of *Granvell*, who strained up to the highest his master's authority, and the execution of his commands upon all occasions; and the resoluteness of the Lords of the Provinces, to temper the edicts, and protect the liberties of their country against the admission of this new and arbitrary judicature, unknown to all ancient laws and customs of the country; and for that, not less odious to the people, than for the cruelty of their executions. For, before the *inquisition*, the care of religion was in the Bishops; and before that in the civil magistrates throughout the Provinces.

Upon angry debates in council, but chiefly upon the universal ministry of *Granvell*, a *Burgundian* of mean birth, grown at last to a Cardinal, and more famous for the greatness of his parts, than the goodness of his life, the chief Lords of the country (among whom the Prince of *Orange*, Counts *Egmont* and *Horn*, the Marquis of *Bergben* and *Montigny*, were most considerable) grew to so violent and implacable an hatred of the Cardinal (whether from passion or interest) which was so universally spread through the whole body of the people, either by the causes of it, or the example, that the Lords first refused their attendance in council, protesting, *not to endure the sight of a man so absolute there, and to the ruin of their country:* and afterwards petitioned the King, in the name of the whole country, for his removal: upon the delay whereof, and the continuance of the *inquisition*, the people appeared, upon daily occasions and accidents, heated to that degree, as threatened a general combustion in the whole body;

body, whenever the least flame should break out in any part.

But the King at length consented to *Granvell's* recess, by the opinion of the Dukes of *Parma*, as well as the pursuit of the Provinces: whereupon the Lords reassumed their places in council; Count *Egmont* was sent into *Spain* to represent the grievances of the Provinces; and being favourably dispatched by the King, especially by remitting the rigour of the edicts about religion, and the inquisition, all noise of discontent and tumult was appeased, the Lords were made use of by the Governess in the council, and conduct of affairs; and the Governess was by the Lords both obeyed and honoured.

In the beginning of the year 1565, there was a conference at *Bayonne* between *Catharine* Queen mother of *France* and her son *Charles IX.* (though very young) with his sister *Isabella* Queen of *Spain*: in which no other person but the Duke of *Alva* intervened, being deputed thither by *Philip*, who excused his own presence, and thereby made this interview pass for an effect or expression of kindness between the mother and her children. Whether great resolutions are the more suspected, where great secrecy is observed; or if it be true, what the Prince of *Orange* affirmed to have by accident discovered, that the extirpation of all families, which should profess the new religion in the *French* or *Spanish* dominions, was here agreed on, with mutual assistance of the two crowns: 'tis certain, and was owned, that matters of religion were the subject of that conference; and that soon after, in the same year, came letters from King *Philip* to the Dukes of *Parma*, disclaiming the interpretation which had been given to his letters by Count *Egmont*, declaring, his pleasure was, that all Hereticks should be put to death without remission; that the Emperor's edicts, and the council of *Trent*, should be published and observed; and

and commanding, that the utmost assistance of the civil power should be given to the *inquisition*.

When this was divulged, at first, the astonishment was great throughout their provinces; but that soon gave way to their rage; which began to appear in their looks, in their speeches, their bold meetings and libels; and was increased by the miserable spectacles of so many executions upon account of religion, the constancy of the sufferers and compassion of the beholders conspiring generally to lessen the opinion of guilt or crime, and heighten a detestation of the punishment and desire of revenge, against the authors of that counsel, of whom the Duke of *Alva* was esteemed the chief.

In the beginning of the year 1566, began an open mutiny of the citizens in many towns, hindering executions, and forcing prisons and officers; and this was followed by a confederacy of the Lords, never to suffer the *inquisition* in the *Low-Countries*, as contrary to all laws, both sacred and profane, and exceeding the cruelty of all former tyrannies; upon which, all resolutions of force or rigour grew unsafe for the government, now too weak for such a revolution of the people; and on the other side, *Brederode*, in confidence of the general favour, came at the head of two hundred gentlemen, through the Provinces, to *Brussels*, and in bold terms petitioned the Governess for abolishing the *inquisition*, and edicts about religion; and that new ones should be framed by a convention of the States.

The Governess was forced to use gentle remedies to so violent a disease; to receive the petition without shew of the resentment she had at heart, and to promise a representation of their desires to the King; which was accordingly done: but though the King was startled with such consequences of his last commands, and at length induced to recall them; yet, whether by the slowness of his nature, or the forms of
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the *Spanish* Court, the answer came too late : and at all his former concessions, either by delay or testimonies of ill will or meaning in them, had lost the good grace, so this lost absolutely the effect, and came into the *Low-Countries* when all was in a flame, by an insurrection of the meaner people through many great towns of *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Utrecht*, who fell violently upon the spoil of churches, and destruction of images, with a thousand circumstances of barbarous and brutish fury ; which, with the institution of consistories and magistrates in each town among those of the reformed profession, with publick confederacies and distinctions, and private contributions agreed upon for the support, of their common cause, gave the first date in this year of 1566 to the revolt of the *Low-Countries*.

But the nobility of the country, and the richest of the people in the cities, though unsatisfied with the government, yet feeling the effects, and abhorring the rage of popular tumults, as the worst mischief that can befall any State ; and encouraged by the arrival of the King's concessions, began to unite their councils and forces with those of the Governess, and to employ themselves both with great vigour and loyalty, for suppressing the late insurrections, that had seized upon many, and shaken most of the cities of the Provinces ; in which the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont* were great instruments, by the authority of their great charges (one being Governor of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and the other of *Flanders*) but more by the general love and confidence of the people ; until by the reducing *Valenciens*, *Maestricht*, and the *Burse*, by arms ; the submission of *Antwerp* and other towns ; the defection of Count *Egmont* from the councils of the confederate Lords (as they were called ;) the retreat of the Prince of *Orange* into *Germany* ; and the death of *Brederode*, with the news and preparations of King
Philip's

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Philip's sudden journey into the *Low-Countries*, as well as the prudence and moderation of the *Duchess*, in governing all these circumstances; the whole estate of the *Provinces* was perfectly restored to its former peace, obedience, and, at least, appearance of loyalty.

King Philip, whether having never really decreed his journey into *Flanders*, or diverted by the pacification of the *Provinces*, and apprehension of the *Moors* rebelling in *Spain*, or a distrust of his son *Prince Charles's* violent passions and dispositions, or the expectation of what had been resolved at *Bayonne* growing ripe for execution in *France*, gave over the discourse of seeing the *Low-Countries*; but at the same time took up the resolution for dispatching the *Duke of Alva* thither at the head of an army of ten thousand veteran *Spanish* and *Italian* troops, for the assistance of the *Governess*, the execution of the laws, the suppressing and punishment of all who had been authors or fomenters of the late seditions.

This result was put suddenly in execution, though wholly against the advice of the *Duchess* of *Parma* in *Flanders*, and the *Duke of Feria* (one of the chief ministers) in *Spain*, who thought, the present peace of the *Provinces* ought not to be invaded by new occasions; nor the royal authority lessened, by being made a party in a war upon his subjects; nor a minister employed, where he was so professedly both hating, and hated, as the *Duke of Alva* in the *Low-Countries*.

But the *King* was unmoveable; so that, in the end of the year 1567, the *Duke of Alva* arrived there with an army of ten thousand, the best *Spanish* and *Italian* soldiers, under the command of the choicest officers, which the wars of *Charles V.* or *Philip II.* had bred up in *Europe*; which, with two thousand *Germans* the *Duchess* of *Parma* had raised in the last tumults, and

and under the command of so old and renowned a General as the Duke of *Alva*, made up a force, which nothing in the *Low-Countries* could look in the face with other eyes, than of astonishment, submission, or despair.

Upon the first report of this expedition, the trading people of the towns and country began in vast numbers to retire out of the Provinces; so, as the Dukes wrote to the King, that, in few days, above a hundred thousand men had left the country, and withdrawn both their money and goods, and more were following every day: so great antipathy there ever appears between merchants and soldiers; whilst one pretends to be safe under laws, which the other pretends shall be subject to his sword, and his will. And upon the first action of the Duke of *Alva* after his arrival, which was the seizing the Counts *Egmont* and *Horne*, as well as the suspected death of the Marquis of *Berghen*, and imprisonment of *Montigny* in *Spain* (whither, some months before, they had been sent with commission and instructions from the Dukes) he immediately desired leave of the King to retire out of the *Low Countries*.

This was easily obtained, and the Duke of *Alva* invested in the government, with powers never given before to any Governor: a council of twelve was erected for trial of all crimes committed against the King's authority, which was called by the people, *The Council of Blood*. Great numbers were condemned and executed by sentence of this council, upon account of the late insurrections. More by that of the *inquisition*, against the parting-advice of the Dukes of *Parma*, and the exclamation of the people at those illegal courts. The town stomached the breach of their charters, the people of their liberties, the Knights of the Golden-Fleece the charters of their order, by these new and odious courts of judicature:

all complain of the difuse of the States, of the introduction of armies, but all in vain: the King was constant to what he had determined; *Alva* was in his nature cruel and inexorable; the new army was fierce and brave, and desirous of nothing so much as a rebellion in the country; the people were enraged, but awed and unheaded: all was seizure and process, confiscation and imprisonment, blood and horror, insolence and dejection, punishments executed, and meditated revenge: the smaller branches were lapt off apace; the great ones were longer a hewing down, Counts *Egmont* and *Horne* lasted several months; but, at length, in spite of all their services to *Charles V.*, and to *Philip*, as well as of their new merits, in the quieting of the Provinces, and of so great supplications and intercessions as were made in their favour, both in *Spain* and in *Flanders*, they were publickly beheaded at *Brussels*, which seemed to break all patience in the people, and, by their end, to give those commotions a beginning, which cost *Europe* so much blood, and *Spain* a great part of the *Low-Country-Provinces*.

After the process of *Egmont* and *Horne*, the Prince of *Orange*, who was retired into *Germany*, was summoned to his trial for the same crimes, of which the others had been accused; and, upon his not appearing, was condemned, proclaimed traitor, and his whole estate (which was very great in the Provinces, and in *Burgundy*) seized upon, as forfeited to the King. The Prince, treated in this manner, while he was quiet and unarmed in *Germany*, employs all his credit with those Princes engaged to him by alliance or by common fears of the house of *Austria*, throws off all obedience to the Duke of *Alva*, raises forces, joins with great numbers flocking to him out of the Provinces; all enraged at the Duke of *Alva*'s cruel and arbitrary government, and resolved to revenge the Count

Count *Egmont's* death, (who had ever been the darling of the people). With these troops he enters *Friezland*, and invades the outward parts of *Brabant*, receives succours from the Protestants of *France*, then in arms under the Prince of *Conde*: and after many various encounters and successes, by the great conduct of *Alva*, and valour of his veteran army, being hindered from seizing upon any town in *Brabant* (which both of them knew would shake the fidelity of the Provinces), he is at length forced to break up his army, and to retire into *Germany*. Hereupon *Alva* returns in triumph to *Brussels*: and, as if he had made a conquest, instead of a defence, causes, out of the cannon taken from *Lewis* of *Nassau*, his statue to be cast in brass, treading and insulting upon two smaller statues, that represented the two estates of the *Low-Countries*: and this to be erected in the citadel he had built at *Antwerp*, for the absolute subjecting of that rich, populous, and mutinous town.

Nothing had raised greater indignation among the *Flemings*, than the publick sight and ostentation of this statue; and the more, because they knew the boast to be true, finding their ancient liberties and privileges (the inheritance of so many ages, or bounty of so many Princes) all now prostrate before this one man's sword and will, who from the time of *Charles V.* had ever been esteemed an enemy of their nation, and author of all the counsels for the absolute subduing their country.

But *Alva*, moved with no rumours, terrified with no threats from a broken and unarmed people, and thinking no measures nor forms were any more necessary to be observed in the *Low-Countries*, pretends greater sums are necessary for the pay and reward of his victorious troops, than were annually granted upon the King's request, by the States of the Provinces: and therefore demands a general tax of the hundredth

dredth part of every man's estate in the *Low-Countries*, to be raised at once : and, for the future, the twentieth of all immoveables. and the tenth of all that was sold.

The States, with much reluctancy, consent to the first, as a thing that ended at once ; but refused the other two, alledging the poverty of the Provinces, and the ruin of trade. Upon the Duke's persisting, they petition the King by messengers into *Spain*, but without redress ; draw out the year in contests, sometimes stomachful, sometimes humble, with the Governor ; till the Duke, impatient of further delay, causes the edict, without consent of the States, to be published at *Brussels*. The people refuse to pay, the soldiers begin to levy by force, the townsmen all shut up their shops, the people in the country forbear the market, so as not so much as bread or meat is to be bought in the town. The Duke is enraged, and calls the soldiers to arms, and commands several of the inhabitants, who refused the payments, to be hanged that very night upon their sign-posts, which nothing moves the obstinacy of the people : and now the officers of the guards are ready to begin the executions, when news comes to town of the taking of the *Briel* by the *Gueuses*, and of the expectation that had been given of a sudden revolt in the Province of *Holland*.

This unexpected blow struck the Duke of *Alva* ; and foreseeing the consequences of it, because he knew the stubble was dry, and now he found the fire was fallen in, he thought it an ill time to make an end of the tragedy in *Brabant*, whilst a new scene was opened in *Holland* ; and so, giving over for the present his taxes and executions, applies his thoughts to the suppression of this new enemy, that broke in upon him from the sea ; and for that reason, the bottom and reach of the design, as well as the nature and strength of their forces, were to the Duke the less known, and the more suspected. Now, because this seizure of the
Briel

Briel began the second great commotion of the *Low Countries*, in 1570, and that which indeed never ended, but in the loss of those Provinces, where the death of the *Spanish* and Royal government gave life to a new commonwealth, it will be necessary to know, what sort of men, and by what accidents united, and by what fears or hopes emboldened, were the first authors of this adventure.

Upon *Brederode's* delivering a petition to the Duchess of *Parma*, against the *inquisition*, and for some liberty in point of religion, those persons, which attended him, looking mean in their cloaths and their garb, were called by one of the courtiers, at their entrance into the palace, *gueuses* which signifies *Beggars*; a name, though raised by chance, or by scorn; yet affected by the party, as an expression of humility and distress, and used ever after by both sides, as a name of distinction, comprehending all, who dissented from the *Roman Church*, how different soever in opinion among themselves.

These men, spread in great numbers through the whole extent of the Provinces, by the accidents and dispositions already mentioned, after the appeasing of their first sedition, were broken in their common councils; and by the cruelty of the *inquisition*, and rigour of *Alva*, were in great multitudes forced to retire out of the Provinces, at least, such as had means or hopes of subsisting abroad: many of the poorer and more desperate fled into the woods of the upper countries (where they are thick and wild) and lived upon spoil; and, in the first descent of the Prince of *Orange's* forces, did great mischiefs to all scattered parties of the Duke of *Alva's* troops in their march through those parts. But, after that attempt of the Prince ended without success, and he was forced back into *Germany*, the Count of *Marcke*, a violent and implacable enemy to the Duke of *Alva* and his government

ment, with many others of the broken troops (whom the same fortune and disposition had left together in *Friezland*) manned out some ships of small force, and betook themselves to sea; and, with commissions from the Prince of *Orange*, began to prey upon all they could master, that belonged to the *Spaniards*. They sometimes sheltered and watered, and sold their prizes in some creeks or small harbours of *England*, though forbidden by Queen *Elizabeth* (then in peace with *Spain*;) sometimes in the river *Ems*, or some small ports of *Friezland*; till at length, having gained considerable riches by these adventures, whether to sell, or to refresh, whether driven by storm, or led by design (upon knowledge of the ill blood which the new taxes had bred in all the Provinces) they landed in the island of the *Briel*, assaulted and carried the town, pulled down the images in the churches, professed openly their religion, declared against the taxes and tyranny of the *Spanish* government, and were immediately followed by the revolt of most of the towns of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *West-Friezland*, who threw out the *Spanish* garrisons, renounced their obedience to King *Philip*, and swore fidelity to the Prince of *Orange*.

The Prince returned out of *Germany* with new forces, and, making use of this fury of the people, contented not himself with *Holland* and *Zealand*, but marched up into the very heart of the Provinces, within five leagues of *Brussels*, seizing upon *Mecklin*, and many other towns, with so great consent, applause, and concourse of people, that the whole *Spanish* dominion now seemed ready to expire in the *Low-Countries*, if it had not been revived by the massacre of the Protestants at *Paris*; which, contrived by joint counsels with King *Philip*, and acted by a *Spanish* party in the Court of *France*, and with so fatal a blow to the contrary faction, encouraged the Duke of *Alva*, and damped the Prince of *Orange* in the same degree; so that one gathers

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strength enough to defend the heart of the Provinces, and the other retires into *Holland*, and makes that the seat of the war.

This country was strong by its nature and seat among the waters, that encompass and divide it; but more by a rougher sort of people at that time, less softened by trade, or by riches; less used to grants of money and taxes; and proud of their ancient fame, recorded in the *Roman* stories, of being obstinate defenders of their liberties, and now most implacable haters of the *Spanish* name.

All these dispositions were increased and hardened, in the war that ensued under the Duke of *Alva's* conduct, or his sons; by the slaughter of all innocent persons and sexes, upon the taking of *Naerden*, where the houses were burnt, and the walls levelled to the ground; by the desperate defence of *Haerlem* for ten months, with all the practices and returns of ignominy, cruelty, and scorn on both sides; while the very women lifted themselves in companies, repaired breaches, gave alarms, and beat up quarters, till all being famished, four hundred burghers (after the surrender) were killed in cold blood, among many other examples of an incensed conqueror; which made the humour of the parties grow more desperate, and their hatred to *Spain* and *Alva* incurable.

The same army broken and forced to rise from before *Alcmaer*, after a long and fierce siege in *Alva's* time; and from before *Leyden* in the time of *Requiesnes* (where the boors themselves opened the sluices, and drowned the country, resolving to mischief the *Spaniards*, at the charge of their own ruin) gave the great turn to affairs in *Holland*.

The King grows sensible of danger, and apprehensive of the total defection of the Provinces; *Alva* weary of his government, finding his violent counsels and proceedings had raised a spirit, which was quiet

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before he came, and was never to be laid any more. The Duke is recalled, and the war goes on under *Requiesces*; who dying suddenly and without provisions made by the King for a successor, the government, by customs of the country, devolved by way of *interim* upon the Great Council, which lasted some time, by the delay of *Don John of Austria's* coming, who was declared the new Governor.

But in this *interim*, the strength of the disease appears; for, upon the mutiny of some *Spanish* troops, for want of their pay, and their seizing *Alost*, a town near *Brussels*, the people grow into a rage, the tradesmen give over their shops, and the country-men their labour, and all run to arms: in *Brussels* they force the Senate, pull out those men they knew to be most addicted to the *Spaniards*, kill such of that nation as they meet in the streets, and all in general cry out for the expulsion of foreigners out of the *Low-Countries*, and the assembling of the States; to which the Council is forced to consent. In the mean time, the chief persons of the Provinces enter into an agreement with the Prince of *Orange*, to carry on the common affairs of the Provinces by the same counsels; so as when the Estates assembled at *Ghent*, without any contest, they agreed upon that act, which was called *The pacification of Ghent*, in the year 1576, whereof the chief articles were, *The expulsion of all foreign soldiers out of the Provinces: restoring all the ancient forms of government: and referring matters of religion in each Province to the provincial estates: and that for performance thereof, the rest of the Provinces should for ever be confederate with Holland and Zealand.* And this made the first period of the *Low-Country* troubles, proving to King *Philip* a dear experience, how little the best conduct, and boldest armies, are able to withstand the torrent of a stubborn and enraged people, which ever bears all down before it, till it comes to be divided into different channels by arts, or
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by chance ; or, till the springs, which are the humours that fed it, come to be spent, or dry up of themselves.

The foreign forces, refusing to depart, are declared rebels ; whereupon the *Spanish* troops force and plunder several towns, and *Antwerp* among the rest (by advantage of the citadel) with equal courage and avarice ; and defend themselves in several holds from the forces of the States, till *Don John's* arrival at *Luxemburgh*, the only town of the Provinces, where he thought himself safe, as not involved in the defection of the rest.

The Estates refuse to admit him, without his accepting and confirming the pacification of *Ghent* ; which at length he does, by leave from the King, and enters upon the government with the dismissal of all foreign troops, which return into *Italy*. But soon after, *Don John*, whether out of indignation to see himself but a precarious Governor, without force or dependence ; or, desiring new occasions of fame by a war ; or, instructed from *Spain* upon new counsels, takes the occasion of complimenting Queen *Margaret* of *Navarre* upon her journey out of *France* to the *Spaw*, and on a sudden seizes upon the castle of *Namur*. Whereupon the Provinces for the third time throw off their obedience, call the Prince of *Orange* to *Brussels*, where he is made Protector of *Brabant*, by the States of that Province, and preparations are made on both sides for the war : while *Spain* is busy to form new armies, and draw them together in *Namur* and *Luxemburgh*, the only Provinces obedient to that crown : and all the rest agree to elect a Governor of their own and send to *Matthias* the Emperor's brother, to offer him the charge.

At this time began to be formed the male-content party in the *Low-Countries* ; which though agreeing with the rest in their hatred to the *Spaniards*, and defence of their liberties and laws, yet were not inclined

to shake off allegiance to their Prince, nor change their old and established religion: and these were headed by the Duke of *Areschot*, and several great men, the more averse from a general defection, by emulation or envy of the Prince of *Orange's* greatness, who was now grown to have all the influence and credit in the councils of the league.

By the assistance of this party, after *Don John's* sudden death, the Duke of *Parma*, succeeding him, gained strength and reputation upon his coming to the government, and an entrance upon that great scene of glory and victory, which made both his person so renowned, and the time of his government signalized by so many sieges and battles, and the reduction of so great a part of the body of the Provinces to the subjection of *Spain*.

Upon the growth of this party, and for distinction from them, who, pursuing a middle and dangerous counsel, were at length to become an accession to one of the extremes; the more northern Provinces, meeting by their Deputies at *Utrecht*, in the year 1579, framed an act or alliance, which was ever after called *the union of Utrecht*; and was the original constitution and frame of that commonwealth, which has since been so well known in the world, by the name of *The United Provinces*.

This union was grounded upon the *Spaniards* breach of the *pacification of Ghent*, and new invasion of some towns in *Guelderland*; and was not pretended to divide these Provinces from the generality, nor from the said *pacification*; but to strengthen and pursue the ends of it, by more vigorous and united counsels and arms.

The chief force of this union consists in these points, drawn out of the instrument itself.

The Seven Provinces unite themselves so, as if they were but one Province, and so, as never to be divided by testament, donation, exchange, sale, or agreement:

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reserving to each particular Province and city all privileges, rights, customs and statutes: in adjudging whereof, or differences that shall arise between any of the Provinces, the rest shall not intermeddle further, than to intercede towards an agreement.

They bind themselves to assist one another with life and fortunes against all force and assault made upon any of them, whether upon pretence of royal majesty, of restoring Catholic religion, or any other whatsoever.

All frontier-towns belonging to the union, if old, to be fortified at the charge of the Province where they lie; if new, to be erected at the charge of the generality.

All impost and customs, from three months to three months, to be offered to them that bid most; and, with the incomes of the royal majesty, to be employed for the common defence.

All inhabitants to be listed and trained within a month, from 18 to 60 years old. Peace and war not to be made without consent of all the Provinces: other cases, that concern the management of both, by most voices. Differences that shall arise upon the first, between the Provinces, to be submitted to the Stadtholders.

Neighbouring Princes, Lords, lands, and cities, to be admitted into the union, by consent of the Provinces.

For religion, those of *Holland* and *Zealand* to act in it as seems good unto themselves. The other Provinces may regulate themselves according to the tenor established by *Matthias*, or else as they shall judge to be most for the peace and welfare of their particular Provinces; provided, every one remain free in his religion, and no man be examined or entrapped for that cause, according to the pacification of *Ghent*.

In case of any dissension or differences between Provinces, if it concern one in particular, it shall be accommodated by the others; if it concern all in general, by the Stadtholders: in both which cases, sentence

to be pronounced within a month, and without appeal or revision.

The States to be held, as has been formerly used; and the mint in such manner, as shall hereafter be agreed by all the Provinces.

Interpretation of these articles to remain in the States; but in case of their differing, in the Stadtholders.

They bind themselves to fall upon, and imprison any, that shall act contrary to these articles; in which case no privilege nor exemption to be valid.

This act was signed by the Deputies of *Guelderland, Zutphen, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht*, and the Omlands of *Frize*, Jan. 23. 1579, but was not signed by the Prince of *Orange* till May following, and with this signification, judging, that by the same the superiority and authority of Arch-Duke *Matthias* is not lessened.

In the same year, this union was entered and signed by the cities of *Ghent, Nimmeguen, Arnhem, Liewarden*, with some particular nobles of *Friezland, Venlo, Ypres, Antwerp, Breda, and Bruges*. And thus these Provinces became a commonwealth, but in so low and uncertain a state of affairs, by reason of the various motions and affections of mens minds, the different ends and interests of the several parties, especially in the other Provinces; and the mighty power and preparations of the *Spanish* monarchy to oppress them, that in their first coin they caused a ship to be stamped, labouring among the waves without sails or oars; and these words, *Incertum quo fata ferant*.

I thought so particular a deduction necessary, to discover the natural causes of this revolution in the *Low-Countries*, which has since had so great a part, for near a hundred years, in all the actions and negotiations of *Christendom*; and to find out the true incentives of that obstinate love for their liberties, and invincible hatred for the *Spanish* nation and government, which laid the foundation of this commonwealth; and this

this last I take to have been the stronger passion, and of the greater effect, both in the bold counsels of contracting their union, and the desperate resolutions of defending it. For not long after, the whole Council of this new state, being pressed by the extremities of their affairs, passing by the form of government in the way of a commonwealth, made an earnest and solemn offer of the dominion of these Provinces both to *England* and *France*; but were refused by both crowns: and though they retained the name of a free people, yet they soon lost the ease of the liberties they contended for, by the absoluteness of their magistrates in the several cities and Provinces, and the extreme pressure of their taxes, which so long a war, with so mighty an enemy, made necessary for the support of their state.

But the hatred of the *Spanish* government, under *Alva*, was so universal, that it made the revolt general through the Provinces, running through all religions, and all orders of men, as appeared by the pacification of *Ghent*; till by the division of the parties, by the powers of so vast a monarchy as *Spain* at that time, and by the matchless conduct and valour of the Duke of *Parma*, this humour like poison in a strong constitution, and with the help of violent physic, was expelled from the heart, which was *Flanders* and *Brabant* (with the rest of the ten Provinces) into the outward members; and, by their being cut off, the body was saved. After which, the most inflamed spirits being driven by the arms of *Spain*, or drawn by the hopes of liberty and safety, into the *United Provinces* out of the rest, the hatred of *Spain* grew to that height, that they were not only willing to submit to any new dominion, rather than return to the old; but when they could find no master to protect them, and their affairs grew desperate, they were once certainly upon the counsel of burning their great towns, wasting and drowning what they could of their own country, and going to seek
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some new seats in the *Indies*. Which they might have executed, if they had found shipping enough to carry off all their numbers, and had not been detained by the compassion of those which must have been left behind, at the mercy of an incensed and conquering master.

The *Spanish* and *Italian* writers content themselves to attribute the causes of these revolutions to the change of religion, to the native stubbornness of the people, and to the ambition of the Princes of *Orange*: but religion, without mixtures of ambition and interest, works no such violent effects, and produces rather the examples of constant sufferings, than of desperate actions. The nature of the people cannot change of a sudden, no more than the climate which infuses it; and no country hath brought forth better subjects, than many of these Provinces, both before and since these commotions among them; and the ambition of one man could neither have designed nor atchieved so great an adventure, had it not been seconded with universal discontent; nor could that have been raised to so great an height and heat, without so many circumstances as fell in from an unhappy course of the *Spanish* counsels, to kindle and foment it. For though it had been hard to head such a body, and give it so strong a principle of life, and so regular motions, without the accident of so great a Governor in the Provinces, as Prince *William* of *Orange*: a man of equal abilities in council and in arms; cautious and resolute, affable and severe, supple to occasions and yet constant to his ends; of mighty revenues and dependence in the Provinces, of great credit and alliance in *Germany*; esteemed and honoured abroad, but at home infinitely loved and trusted by the people, who thought him affectionate to their country, sincere in his professions and designs, able and willing to defend their liberties, and unlikely to invade them by any ambition of his own. Yet all

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these qualities might very well have been confined to the duty and services of a subject, as they were in *Charles V.*'s time: without the absence of the King, and the people's opinion of his ill-will to their nation and their laws; without the continuance of foreign troops after the wars were ended: the erecting of the new Bishops sees, and introducing the *inquisition*: the sole ministry of *Grandvill*, and exclusion of the Lords from their usual part in councils and affairs: the government of a man so hated, as the Duke of *Alva*: the rigour of his prosecutions, and the insolence of his statue. And lastly without the death of *Egmont*, and the imposition of the tenth and twentieth part, against the legal forms of government in a country, where a long derived succession had made the people fond and tenacious of their ancient customs and laws.

These were the seeds of their hatred to *Spain*; which increasing by the course of about threescore years war, was not allayed by a long succeeding peace; but will appear to have been an ingredient into the fall, as it was into the rise, of this State; which, having been thus planted, came to be conserved and cultivated by many accidents and influences from abroad; but, those having had no part in the constitution of their State, nor the frame of their government, I will content myself to mention only the chief of them, which most contributed to preserve the infancy of this commonwealth, and make way for its growth, the causes of its succeeding greatness and riches being not to be sought for in the events of their wars, but in the institutions and orders of their government, their customs and trade, which will make the arguments of the ensuing chapters.

When *Don John* threw off the conditions he had at first accepted of the pacification of *Ghent*, and by the surprise of *Namur* broke into arms, the Estates of the Provinces offered the government of their country to *Matthias*, brother to the Emperor, as a temper between their

their return to the obedience of *Spain*, and the popular government which was moulding in the northern Provinces. But, *Matthias*, arriving without the advice or support of the Emperor, or credit in the Provinces, and having the Prince of *Orange* given him for his Lieutenant-General, was only a cypher, and his government a piece of pageantry, which passed without effect, and was soon ended: so that, upon the Duke of *Parma's* taking on him the government, some new protection was necessary to this infant-State, that had not legs to support it against such a storm as was threatened upon the return of the *Spanish* and *Italian* forces, to make the body of a formidable army, which the Duke of *Parma* was forming in *Namur* and *Luxemburgh*.

Since the conference of *Bayonne*, between the Queen-mother of *France*, and her daughter Queen of *Spain*, those two crowns had continued, in the reign of *Francis* and *Charles*, to assist one another in the common design there agreed on, of prosecuting with violence those they called the Heretics, in both their dominions. The peace held constant, if not kind, between *England* and *Spain*; so as King *Philip* had no wars upon his hands in Christendom, during these commotions in the *Low-Countries*: and the boldness of the confederates, in their first revolt and union, seemed greater at such a time than the success of their resistances afterwards, when so many occasions fell in to weaken and divert the forces of the *Spanish* monarchy.

For *Henry III.* coming to the crown of *France*, and at first only fettered and controuled by the faction of the *Guises*, but afterwards engaged in an open war (which they had raised against him, upon pretext of preserving the Catholic religion, and in a conjunction of councils with *Spain*) was forced into better measures with the *Hugonots* of his kingdom, and fell into ill intelligence with *Philip II.* so, as Queen *Elizabeth* having declined

declined to undertake openly the protection of the *Low-Country-Provinces*, it was, by the concurring resolution of the States, and the consent of the *French Court*, devolved upon the Duke of *Alençon*, brother to *Henry III.*

But this Prince entered *Antwerp* with an ill presage to the *Flemings*, by an attempt which a *Biscainer* made the same day upon the Prince of *Orange's* life, shooting him, though not mortally, in the head: and he continued his short government with such mutual distastes between the *French* and the *Flemings* (the heat and violence of one nation agreeing ill with the customs and liberties of the other) that the Duke, attempting to make himself absolute master of the city of *Antwerp* by force, was driven out of the town, and thereupon retired out of the country with extreme resentment of the *Flemings*, and indignation of the *French*; so as, the Prince of *Orange* being not long after assassinated at *Delph*, and the Duke of *Parma* increasing daily in reputation and in force, and the male-content party falling back apace to his obedience, an end was presaged by most men to the affairs of the confederates.

But the root was deeper, and not so easily shaken: for the *United Provinces*, after the unhappy transactions with the *French*, under the Duke of *Alençon*, re-assumed their union in 1583, binding themselves, in case by fury of the war any point of it had not been observed, to endeavour from that time to see it effected: in case any doubt had happened, to see it cleared: and any difficulties, composed: and, in regard the article concerning religion had been so framed in the union, because in all the other Provinces, besides *Holland* and *Zealand*, the *Romish* religion was then used, but now the *Evangelical*, it was agreed by all the Provinces of the union, that, from this time in them all, the *Evangelical* reformed religion should alone be openly preached and exercised.

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They were so far from being broken in their designs by the Prince of *Orange's* death, that they did all the honour that could be to his memory, substituted Prince *Maurice* his son, though but sixteen years old, in all his honours and commands, and obstinately refused all overtures that were made them of peace, resolving upon all the most desperate actions and sufferings, rather than return under the *Spanish* obedience.

But these spirits were fed and heightened, in a great degree, by the hopes and countenance given them about this time from *England*: for Queen *Elizabeth* and *Philip II.* though they still preserved the name of peace, yet had worn out, in a manner, the effects as well as the dispositions of it, whilst the *Spaniards* fomented and assisted the insurrections of the *Irish*, and Queen *Elizabeth* the new commonwealth in the *Low-Countries*; though neither directly, yet by countenance, money, voluntary troops, and ways that were equally felt on both sides, and equally understood.

King *Philip* had lately increased the greatness of his empire, by the inheritance or invasion of the kingdom of *Portugal*, upon King *Sebastian's* loss in *Africa*: but I know not whether he had increased his power, by the accession of a kingdom, with a disputed title, and a discontented people, who could neither be used like good subjects, and governed without armies; nor like a conquered nation, and so made to bear the charge of their forced obedience. But this addition of empire, with the vast treasure flowing every year out of the *Indies*, had without question raised King *Philip's* ambition to vaster designs; which made him embrace, at once, the protection of the league in *France* against *Henry III.* and *IV.* and the donation made him of *Ireland* by the Pope, and so embark himself in a war with both those crowns, while he was bearded with the open arms and defiance of his own subjects in the *Low-Countries*.

But 'tis hard to be imagined, how far the spirit of one

one great man goes in the fortunes of any army or state. The Duke of *Parma* coming to the government without any footing in more than two of the smallest Provinces, collecting an army from *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the broken troops of the country left him by *Don John*, having all the other Provinces confederated against him, and both *England* and *France* beginning to take open part in their defence; yet, by force of his own valour, conduct, and the discipline of his army, with the disinterested and generous qualities of his mind, winning equally upon the hearts and arms of the revolted countries, and piercing through the Provinces with an uninterrupted course of successes, and the recovery of the most important towns in *Flanders*; at last, by the taking of *Antwerp* and *Groningue*, reduced the affairs of the union to so extreme distress, that, being grown destitute of all hopes and succours from *France* (then deep engaged in their own civil wars) they threw themselves wholly at the feet of Queen *Elizabeth*, imploring her protection, and offering her the sovereignty of their country. The Queen refused the dominion, but entered into articles with their Deputies in 1585, obliging herself to very great supplies of men and of monies, lent them upon the security of the *Briel*, *Flushing*, and *Ramekins*; which were performed, and Sir *John Norrice* sent over to command her forces; and afterwards in 87, upon the war broken out with *Spain*, and the mighty threats of the *Spanish* armada, she sent over yet greater forces under the Earl of *Leicester*, whom the States admitted, and swore obedience to him, as Governor of their *United Provinces*.

But this government lasted not long, distastes and suspicions soon breaking out between *Leicester* and the States; partly from the jealousy of his affecting an absolute dominion, and arbitrary disposal of all offices; but chiefly, of the Queen's intentions to make a peace with *Spain*; and the easy loss of some of their towns,

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by Governors placed in them by the *Earl of Leicester*, increased their discontents. Notwithstanding this ill intercourse, the Queen re-assures them in both those points, disapproves some of *Leicester's* proceedings, receives frank and hearty assistances from them in her naval preparations against the *Spaniards*; and at length, upon the disorders increasing between the *Earl of Leicester* and the States, commands him to resign his government, and release the States of the oath they had taken to obey him. And after all this had past, the Queen, easily sacrificing all particular resentments to the interest of her crown, continued her favour, protection, and assistances to the States, during the whole course of her reign, which were returned with the greatest deference and veneration to her person, that was ever paid by them to any foreign Prince, and continues still to her name in the remembrance, and frequently in the mouths of all sorts of people among them.

After *Leicester's* departure, Prince *Maurice* was, by the consent of the union, chosen their Governor, but with a reservation to Queen *Elizabeth*; and entered that command with the hopes, which he made good in the execution of it for many years; proving the greatest Captain of his age, famous, particularly, in the discipline and ordonance of his armies, and the ways of fortification by him first invented or perfected, and since his time imitated by all.

But the great breath, that was given the States in the heat of their affairs, was by the sharp wars made by Queen *Elizabeth* upon the *Spaniards* at sea in the *Indies*, and the expedition of *Lisbon* and *Cadiz*, and by the declining affairs of the league in *France*, for whose support *Philip II.* was so passionately engaged, that twice he commanded the Duke of *Parma* to interrupt the course of his victories in the *Low-Countries*, and march into *France* for the relief of *Roan* and *Paris*; which much augmented the renown of this great Captain, but

but as much impaired the state of the *Spanish* affairs in *Flanders*. For, in the Duke of *Parma*'s absence, Prince *Maurice* took in all the places held by the *Spaniards* on t'other side the *Rhine*, which gave them entrance into the *United Provinces*.

The succession of *Henry IV.* to the crown of *France* gave a mighty blow to the designs of King *Philip*; and a much greater, the general obedience and acknowledgment of him upon his change of religion. With this King, the States began to enter a confidence and kindness, and the more by that which interceded between him and the Queen of *England*, who had all their dependence during her life.

But, after her death, King *Henry* grew to have greater credit than ever in the *United Provinces*; though upon the decay of the *Spanish* power, under the ascendant of this King, the States fell into very early jealousies of his growing too great, and too near them in *Flanders*.

With the Duke of *Parma* died all the discipline, and with that, all the fortunes of the *Spanish* arms in *Flanders*: the frequent mutinies of their soldiers, dangerous in effect and in example, were more talked of than any other of their actions, in the short government of *Mansfield*, *Ernest*, and *Fuentes*, till the old discipline of their armies began to revive, and their fortune a little to respire under the new government of Cardinal *Albert*, who came into *Flanders* both Governor and Prince of the *Low-Countries*, at the head of a mighty army drawn out of *Germany* and *Italy*, to try the last effort of the *Spanish* power, either in a prosperous war, or, at least, in making way for a necessary peace.

But the choice of the Arch-Duke, and this new authority, had a deeper root, and design, than at first appeared: for that mighty King *Philip II.* born to so vast possessions, and to so much vaster desires, after a

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long dream of raising his head into the clouds, found it now ready to lie down in the dust: his body broken with age and infirmities, his mind with cares and dis-tempered thoughts, and the royal servitude of a sollicitous life: he began to see, in the glass of time and experience, the true shapes of all human greatness and designs; and finding to what airy figures he had hitherto sacrificed his health, and ease, and the good of his life; he now turned his thoughts wholly to rest and quiet, which he had never yet allowed either the world, or himself: his designs upon *England*, and his invincible armada, had ended in smoke: those upon *France*, in events the most contrary to what he had proposed: and instead of mastering the liberties, and breaking the stomach of his *Low-Country* subjects, he had lost seven of his Provinces, and held the rest by the tenure of a war, that cost him more than they were worth. He had made lately a peace with *England*, and desired it with *France*; and though he scorned it with his revolted subjects in his own name; yet he wished it in another's; and was unwilling to entail a quarrel upon his son, which had crost his fortunes, and busied his thoughts all the course of his reign. He therefore resolved to commit these two designs to the management of Arch-Duke *Albert*, with the style of Governor and Prince of the *Low-Countries*; to the end, that, if he could reduce the Provinces to their old subjection, he should govern them as *Spanish* dominions; if that was once more in vain attempted, he should by a marriage with *Clara Isabella Eugenia* (King *Philip*'s beloved daughter) receive these Provinces as a dowry, and become the Prince of them, with a condition only, of their returning to *Spain*, in case of *Isabella*'s dying without issue. King *Philip* believed, that the presence of a natural Prince among his subjects; that the birth and customs of Arch-Duke *Albert*, being a *German*; the generous and obliging dispositions of *Isabella*, might

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gain further upon this stubborn people, than all the force and rigour of his former counsels; and at the worst, that they might make a peace, if they could not a war, and without interesting the honour and greatness of the *Spanish* crown.

In pursuit of this determination, like a wise King, while he intended nothing but peace, he made preparations, as if he designed nothing but war; knowing that his own desires of peace would signify nothing, unless he could force his enemies to desire it too. He therefore sent the Arch-Duke into *Flanders*, at the head of such an army, that, believing the peace with *France* must be the first in order, and make way for either the war or peace afterwards in the *Low-Countries*, he marched into *France*, and took *Amiens* the chief city of *Picardy*, and thereby gave such an alarm to the *French* Court, as they little expected; and had never received in the former wars. But while *Albert* bent the whole force of the war upon *France*, till he determined it in a peace with that crown, Prince *Maurice*, who had taken *Groningue* in the time of *Ernest*, now mastered *Linghen*, *Groll*, and other places in *Overysse*, thereby adding those Provinces intire, to the body of the union; and, at *Albert's* return into *Flanders*, entertained him with the battle of *Newport*, won by the desperate courage of the *English*, under Sir *Francis Vere*, where *Albert* was wounded, and very near being taken.

After this loss, the Arch-Duke was yet comforted and relieved by the obsequious affections and obedience of his new subjects, so far as to resolve upon the siege of *Ostend*; which having some time continued, and being almost disheartened by the strength of the place, and invincible courage of the defendants, he was recruited by a body of eight thousand *Italians*, under the Marquis *Spinola*, to whom the prosecution of this siege was committed: he took the place after three years siege, not by any want of men or provisions within (the ha-

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ven, and relief by sea, being open all the time;) but perfectly for want of ground, which was gained foot by foot, till not so much was left, as would hold men to defend it; a great example, how impossible it is to defend any town, that cannot be relieved by an army strong enough to raise the siege.

Prince *Maurice*, though he could not save *Ostend*, made yet amends for its loss, by the taking of *Grave* and *Sluyce*; so as the *Spaniards* gained little but the honour of the enterprise: and *Philip II.* being dead, about the time of the Arch-Duke and Duchess's arrival in *Flanders*, and with him, the personal resentment of that war, the Arch-Duke, by consent of the *Spanish* Court, began to apply his thoughts wholly to a peace; which another circumstance had made more necessary, than any of those already mentioned.

As the *Dutch* commonwealth was born out of the sea, so out of the same element it drew its first strength and consideration, as well as afterwards its riches and greatness: for before the revolts, the subjects of the *Low-Countries*, though never allowed the trade of the *Indies*, but in the *Spanish* fleets, and under *Spanish* covert, yet many of them had in that manner made the voyages, and become skilful pilots, as well as versed in the ways, and sensible of the infinite gains of that trade. And after the union, a greater confluence of people falling down into the *United Provinces*, than could manage their stock, or find employment at land, great multitudes turned their endeavours to sea; and, having lost the trade of *Spain* and the *Straits*, fell not only into that of *England*, *France*, and the northern seas, but ventured upon that of the *East-Indies*, at first with small forces and success; but in course of time, and by the institution of an *East-India* company, this came to be pursued with so general application of the Provinces, and so great advantage, that they made themselves masters of most of the colonies and forts planted there

there by the *Portuguese* (now subjects of *Spain*.) The *Dutch* seamen grew as well acquainted with those vast seas and coasts as with their own; and *Holland* became the great magazine of all the commodities of those eastern regions.

In the *West-Indies* their attempts were neither so frequent nor so prosperous, the *Spanish* plantations there being too numerous and strong; but by the multitude of their shipping, set out with public or private commissions, they infested the seas, and began to wait for, and threaten, the *Spanish Indian* fleets, and sometimes to attempt their coasts in that new world (which was to touch *Spain* in the most sensible part) and gave their Court the strongest motives to endeavour a peace, that might secure those treasures in their way, and preserve them in *Spain*, by stopping the issue of those vast sums, which were continually transmitted to maintain the *Low-Country* wars.

These respects gave the first rise to a treaty of peace, the proposal whereof came wholly from the *Spaniards*; and the very mention of it could hardly at first be fastened upon the States; nor could they ever be prevailed with to make way for any negotiation by a suspension of arms, till the Arch-Duke had declared, he would treat with them as with free Provinces, upon whom, neither he, nor *Spain* had any pretence. However, the affair was pursued with so much art and industry on the Arch-Duke's part, and with so passionate desires of the *Spanish* Court to end this war, that they were content to treat it at the *Hague*, the seat of the States-General; and, for the greater honour, and better conduct of the whole business, appointed the four chief ministers of the Arch-Duke's, their commissioners to attend and pursue it there; who were, their Camp-Master-General *Spinola*, the President of the Council, and the two Secretaries of State, and of war in *Flanders*.

On the other side, in *Holland* all the paces towards this treaty were made with great coldness and arrogance, raising punctilious difficulties upon every word of the Arch-Duke's declaration of treating them as free Provinces, and upon *Spain's* ratification of that form; and forcing them to send expresses into *Spain*, upon every occasion, and to attend the length of those returns. For the prosperous success of their arms at land, in the course of above thirty years war, and the mighty growth of their naval power, and (under that protection) of their trade, had made the whole body of their militia, both at land and sea, averse from this treaty, as well as the greatest part of the people; whose inveterate hatred against *Spain* was still as fierce as ever; and who had the hopes or dispositions of raising their fortunes by the war, whereof they had so many and great examples among them.

But there was, at the bottom, one foreign, and another domestic consideration, which made way for this treaty, more than all those arguments that were the common themes, or than all the offices of the Neighbour-Princes, who concerned themselves in this affair, either from interest of their own, or the desires of ending a war, which had so long exercised, in a manner, the arms of all Christendom upon the stage of the *Low-Countries*. The greatness of the *Spanish* monarchy, so formidable under *Charles V.* and *Philip II.* began now to decline by the vast designs, and unfortunate events, of so many ambitious counsels: and, on the other side, the affairs of *Henry IV.* of *France* were now at the greatest height and felicity, after having achieved so many adventures, with incredible constancy and valour, and ended all his wars in a peace with *Spain*. The *Dutch* imagined, that the hot spirits of the *French* could not continue long without some exercise; and that to prevent it at home, it might be necessary for that King to give it them abroad; that no enterprise
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lay so convenient for him, as that upon *Flanders*, which had anciently been part of the *Gallic* nation, and whose first Princes derived and held of the Kings of *France*. Besides, they had intimations, that *Henry IV.* was taken up in great preparations for war, which they doubted would at one time or other fall on that side, at least if they were invited by any greater decays of the *Spanish* power in *Flanders*: and they knew very well, they should lie as much at the mercy of such a neighbour as *France*, as they had formerly done of such a master as *Spain*. For the *Spanish* power in *Flanders* was fed by treasures that came by long and perilous voyages out of *Spain*; by troops drawn either from thence, or from *Italy* or *Germany*, with much casualty, and more expence: their territory of the ten Provinces was small and awed by the neighbourhood and jealousies both of *England* and *France*. But if *France* were once master of *Flanders*, the body of that empire would be so great, and so intire; so abounding in people, and in riches, that whenever they found, or made, an occasion of invading the *United Provinces*, they had no hopes of preserving themselves by any opposition or diversion: and the end of their mighty resistances against *Spain* was, to have no master; and not to change one for another, as they should do in this case: therefore the most intelligent among their civil ministers thought it safest, by a peace, to give breath to the Arch-Duke's and *Spanish* power, and by that means, to lessen the invitation of the arms of *France* into *Flanders*, under so great a King.

For what with domestic, the credit and power of Prince *Maurice*, built at first upon that of his father, but much raised by his own personal virtue and qualities, and the success of his arms, was now grown so high (the Prince being Governor or Stadtholder of four of the Provinces, and two of his cousins of the other three) that several of the States, headed by *Barnevelt*, Pensioner

Pensioner of *Holland*, and a man of great abilities and authority among them, became jealous of the Prince's power, and pretended to fear the growth of it to an absolute dominion: they knew, it would increase by the continuance of a war, which was wholly managed by the Prince; and thought, that in a peace it would diminish, and give way to the authority of civil power: which disposed this whole party to desire the treaty, and to advance the progress and issue of it by all their assistances. And these different humours stirring in the heart of the States, with almost equal strength and vigour; the negotiation of a peace came to be eluded, after long debates and infinite endeavours; breaking, in appearance, upon the points of religion, and the *Indian* trade: but yet came to knit again, and conclude in a truce of twelve years, dated in the year 1609, whereof the most essential points were, the declaration of treating with them as free Provinces; the cessation of all acts of hostility on both sides during the truce; the enjoyment, for that space, of all that each party possessed at the time of the treaty; that no new fortification should be raised on either side; and that free commerce should be restored on all parts in the same manner, as it was before the wars.

And thus the State of the *United Provinces* came to be acknowledged as a free commonwealth by their ancient master, having before been treated so by most of the Kings and Princes of *Europe*, in frequent embassies and negotiations. Among which, a particular preference was given to the *English* crown, whose Ambassador had session and vote in their Council of State, by agreement with Queen *Elizabeth*, and in acknowledgment of those great assistances, which gave life to their State, when it was upon the point of expiring: though the *Dutch* pretend, that privilege was given to the Ambassador, by virtue of the possession this crown had of the *Briel*, *Flushing*, and *Ramekins*; and that it

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was to cease upon the restitution of those towns, and repayment of those sums lent by the Queen.

In the very time of treating this truce, a league was concluded between *Henry IV. of France* and the States, for preserving the peace, if it came to be concluded; or, in case of its failing, for assistance of one another with ten thousand men on the King's part, and five thousand on the States. Nor did that King make any difficulty of continuing the two regiments of foot, and two hundred horse in the States service, at his own charge, after the truce, which he had maintained for several years before it: omitting no provisions that might tie that State to his interest, and make him at present arbiter of the peace, and for the future of the war, if the truce should come to be broken, or to expire of itself.

By what has been related, it will easily appear, that no State was ever born with stronger throws, or nursed up with harder fare, or inured to greater labours or dangers in the whole course of its youth; which are circumstances that usually make strong and healthy bodies: and so this has proved, having never had more than one disease break out, in the space of ninety three years, which may be accounted the age of this State, reckoning from the union of *Utrecht*, entered by the Provinces in 1579. But this disease, like those of the seed or conception in a natural body, though it first appeared in *Barnevelt's* time, breaking out upon the negotiations with *Spain*, and seemed to end with his death (who was beheaded not many years after) yet has it ever since continued lurking in the veins of this State, and appearing upon all revolutions, that seem to favour the predominancy of the one or other humour in the body; and under the names of the Prince of *Orange's* and the *Arminian* party, has ever made the weak side of this State; and, whenever their period comes, will prove the occasion of their fall.

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The ground of this name of *Arminian* was, that whilst *Barnevelt's* party accused those of the Prince of *Orange's*, as being careless of their liberties, so dearly bought; as devoted to the house of *Orange*; and disposed to the admission of an absolute principality, and in order thereunto, as promoters of a perpetual war with *Spain*: so those of the Prince's party accused the others, as leaning still to, and looking kindly upon, their old servitude, and relishing the *Spaniard*, both in their politics, by so eagerly affecting a peace with that crown; and in their religion, by being generally *Arminians* (which was esteemed the middle part between the *Calvinists* and the *Roman* religion.) And besides these mutual reproaches, the two parties have ever valued themselves upon the asserting, one of the true and purer reformed religion; and the other, of the truer and freer liberties of the State.

The fortunes of this commonwealth, that have happened in their wars or negotiations, since the truce with *Spain*, and what circumstances or accidents, both abroad and at home, served to cultivate their mighty growth, and conspired to the greatness wherein they appeared to the world, in the beginning of the year 1665, being not only the subject of the relations, but even the observations, of this present age; I shall either leave, as more obvious, and less necessary to the account I intend of the civil government of this commonwealth: or else reserve them till the same vein of leisure or humour invite me to continue this deduction to this present time; the affairs of this State having been complicated with all the variety and memorable revolutions, both of actions and counsels, that have since happened in the rest of Christendom.

In the mean time, I will close this relation with an event, which arrived soon after the conclusion of the truce, and had like to have broken it within the very year, if not prevented by the offices of the neighbour-

ing Princes, but more by a change of humour in the United States, conspiring to the conservation of the new-restored peace in these parts of the world.

In the end of the year 1609, died the Duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, without heir-male, leaving those dutchies to the pretensions of his daughters, in whose rights the Dukes of *Brandenburgh* and *Nieuburgh* possessed themselves of such parts of those territories as they first could invade, each of them pretending right to the whole inheritance. *Brandenburgh* seeks protection and favour to his title from the *United Provinces*. *Nieuburgh* from the Arch-Duke *Albert*, and from *Spain*. The Arch-Duke, newly respiring from so long a war, had no desire to interest himself in this quarrel, further than the care, that the *Dutch* should not take advantage of it; and, under pretext of assisting one of the parties, seize upon some of those dominions lying contiguous to their own. The *Dutch* were not so equal, nor content to lose so fair an occasion, and surpris'd the town of *Juliers* (though pretending only to keep it till the parties agreed:) and believing that *Spain*, after having parted with so much in the late truce, to end a quarrel of their own, would not venture a breach of it upon a quarrel of their neighbours. But the Arch-Duke, having first taken his measures with *Spain*, and foreseeing the consequence of this affair, resolv'd to venture the whole State of *Flanders* in a new war, rather than suffer such an increase of power and dominion to the States. And thereupon, first, in the behalf of the Duke of *Nieuburgh*, requires from them the restitution of *Juliers*; and, upon their artificeous and dilatory answers, immediately draws his forces together, and with an army, under the command of *Spinola*, marches towards *Juliers* (which the States were in no care of, as well provided for a bold defence) but makes a sudden turn, and sits down before *Wesel*, with such a terror and surprize to the inhabitants, that he carries the

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town before the *Dutch* could come in to their assistance. *Wesel* was a strong town upon the *Rhine*, which the Duke of *Brandenburg* pretended to, as belonging to the dutchy of *Cleve*; but the citizens held at this time as an imperial town, and under protection of the *Dutch*: who, amazed at this sudden and bold attempt of *Spino-la*, which made him master of a pass that lay fair for any further invasion upon their Provinces (especially those on t'other side the *Rhine*) engage the offices of both the *English* and *French* crowns, to mediate an agreement, which at length they conclude, so as neither party should, upon any pretence, draw their forces into any part of these dutchies. Thus the Arch-Duke having by the fondness of peace newly made a truce, upon conditions imposed by the *Dutch*; now, by the resolution of making war, obtains a peace, upon the very terms proposed by himself, and by *Spain*. An event of great instruction and example, how dangerous it ever proves for weak Princes to call in greater to their aid, which makes them a prey to their friend, instead of their enemy: how the only time of making an advantageous peace is, when your enemy desires it, and when you are in the best condition of pursuing a war: and how vain a counsel it is, to avoid a war, by yielding any point of interest or honour: which does but invite new injuries, encourage enemies, and dishearten friends.

CHAP. II.

Of their GOVERNMENT.

IT is evident by what has been discoursed in the former chapter concerning the rise of this State, (which is to be dated from the union of *Utrecht*) that it cannot properly be styled a commonwealth, but

but is rather a confederacy of Seven Sovereign Provinces, united together for their common and mutual defence, without any dependence one upon the other. But to discover the nature of their government from the first springs and motions, it must be taken yet into smaller pieces, by which it will appear, that each of these Provinces is likewise composed of many little states or cities, which have several marks of sovereign power within themselves, and are not subject to the sovereignty of their Provinces; not being concluded in many things by the majority, but only by the universal concurrence of voices in the Provincial States. For as the States-General cannot make war or peace, or any new alliance, or levies of money, without the consent of every Province; so cannot the States-Provincial conclude of any of those points, without the consent of each of the cities, that, by their constitution, has a voice in that assembly. And though in many civil causes there lies an appeal from the common judicature of the cities, to the provincial courts of justice; yet in criminal, there lies none at all; nor can the sovereignty of a Province exercise any judicature, seize upon any offender, or pardon any offence within the jurisdiction of a city, or execute any common resolution or law, but by the justice and officers of the city itself. By this a certain sovereignty in each city is discerned, the chief marks whereof are, the power of exercising judicature, levying of money, and making war and peace: for the other, of coining money, is neither in particular cities or Provinces, but in the generality of the union, by common agreement.

The main ingredients therefore into the composition of this State are, the freedom of the cities, the sovereignty of the Provinces, the agreements or constitutions of the union, and the authority of the Princes of *Orange*: which makes the order I shall follow in the account intended of this government. But where-

as, the several Provinces in the union, and the several cities in each Province, as they have, in their orders and constitutions, some particular differences, as well as a general resemblance; and the account of each distinctly would swell this discourse out of measure, and to little purpose: I shall confine myself to the account of *Holland*, as the richest, strongest, and of most authority among the Provinces; and of *Amsterdam* as that which has the same pre-eminencies among the cities.

The sovereign authority of the city of *Amsterdam* consists in the decrees or results of their Senate, which is composed of six and thirty men, by whom the justice is administered, according to ancient forms, in the names of officers, and places of judicature. But monies are levied by arbitrary resolutions, and proportions, according to what appears convenient or necessary upon the change or emergency of occasions. These Senators are for their lives, and the Senate was anciently chosen by the voices of the richer burghers, or free-men of the city, who upon the death of a Senator met together, either in a church, a market, or some other place spacious enough to receive their numbers; and there made an election of the person to succeed, by the majority of voices. But about a hundred and thirty, or forty years ago, when the towns of *Holland* began to increase in circuit, and in people, so as those frequent assemblies grew into danger of tumult and disorder upon every occasion, by reason of their numbers and contentions; this election of Senators came, by the resolution of the burghers in one of their General Assemblies, to be devolved for ever upon the standing Senate at that time; so, as ever since, when any one of their number dies, a new one is chosen by the rest of the Senate, without any intervention of the other burghers; which makes the government a sort of *Oligarchy*, and very different from a popular government,

vernment, as it is generally esteemed by those, who, passing or living in these countries, content themselves with common observations, or inquiries. And this resolution of the burghers either was agreed upon, or followed by general consent or example, about the same time, in all the towns of the Province, though with some difference in number of their Senators.

By this Senate are chosen the chief Magistrates of the town, which are the Burgomasters and Eschevins: the Burgomasters of *Amsterdam* are four, whereof three are chosen every year; so as one of them stays in office two years; but the three last chosen are called the *Reigning-Burgomasters* for that year, and preside by turns, after the first three months; for so long after a new elect, the Burgomaster of the year before presides; in which time it is supposed the new ones will grow instructed in the form and duties of their office, and acquainted with the state of the city's affairs.

The Burgomasters are chosen by most voices of all those persons in the Senate, who have been either Burgomasters or Eschevins; and their authority resembles that of the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen in our cities. They represent the dignity of the government, and do the honour of the city upon all occasions. They dispose of all under-offices that fall in their time; and issue out all monies out of the common stock or treasure, judging alone what is necessary for the safety, convenience, or dignity of the city. They keep the key of the bank of *Amsterdam* (the common treasure of so many nations) which is never opened without the presence of one of them: and they inspect and pursue all the great public works of the city, as the *Ramparts* and *Stadt-houfe*, now almost finished, with so great magnificence; and so vast expence.

This office is a charge of the greatest trust, authority, and dignity; and so much the greater, by not being of profit or advantage, but only as a way to
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other constant employments in the city, that are so. The salary of a Burgomaster of *Amsterdam* is but five hundred guilders a year, though there are offices worth five thousand in their disposal; but yet none of them known to have taken money upon such occasions, which would lose all their credit in the town, and thereby their fortunes by any public employments. They are obliged to no sort of expence more than ordinary modest citizens, in their habits, their attendance, their tables, or any part of their own domestic. They are upon all public occasions waited on by men in salary from the town; and whatever feasts they make upon solemn days, or for the entertainment of any Princes or foreign ministers, the charge is defrayed out of the common treasure, but proportioned by their own discretion. At other times, they appear in all places with the simplicity and modesty of other private citizens. When the Burgomasters office expires, they are of course disposed into the other charges or employments of the towns, which are very many and beneficial; unless they lose their credit with the Senate, by any want of diligence or fidelity in the discharge of their office, which seldom arrives.

The *Efschevins* are the court of justice in every town. They are at *Amsterdam* nine in number; of which seven are chosen annually; but two of the preceding year continue in office. A double number is named by the Senate, out of which the Burgomasters now choose, as the Prince of *Orange* did in the former constitution. They are sovereign judges in all criminal causes. In civil, after a certain value, there lies appeal to the court of justice of the Province. But they pass sentence of death upon no man without first advising with the Burgomasters; though, after that form is passed, they proceed themselves, and are not bound to follow the Burgomasters opinion, but are left to their own: this being only a care or favour of supererogation to the life
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of a man, which is so soon cut off, and never to be retrieved or made amends for.

Under these sovereign Magistrates, the chief subordinate officers of the town are the Treasurers, who receive and issue out all monies that are properly the revenues or stock of the city: the *Scout*, who takes care of the peace, seizes all criminals, and sees the sentences of justice executed, and whose authority is like that of a Sheriff in a county with us, or a Constable in a parish: the *Pensioner*, who is a civil-lawyer, versed in the customs, and records, and privileges of the town, concerning which he informs the magistracy upon occasion, and vindicates them upon disputes with other towns; he is a servant of the Senate and the Burgomasters, delivers their messages, makes their harangues upon all public occasions, and is not unlike the recorder in one of our towns.

In this city of *Amsterdam* is the famous bank, which is the greatest treasure, either real or imaginary, that is known any where in the world. The place of it is a great vault under the Stadthouse, made strong with all the circumstances of doors and locks, and other appearing cautions of safety, that can be: and 'tis certain, that whoever is carried to see the bank, shall never fail to find the appearance of a mighty real treasure, in bars of gold and silver, plate and infinite bags of metals, which are supposed to be all gold and silver, and may be so for aught I know. But, the Burgomasters only having the inspection of this bank, and no man ever taking any particular account of what issues in and out, from age to age, 'tis impossible to make any calculation, or guess what proportion the real treasure may hold to the credit of it. Therefore the security of the bank lies not only in the effects that are in it, but in the credit of the whole town or state of *Amsterdam*, whose stock and revenue is equal to that of some kingdoms; and who are bound to make good all

all monies that are brought into their bank: the tickets or bills hereof make all the usual great payments, that are made between man and man in the town; and not only in most other places of the *United Provinces*, but in many other trading parts of the world. So as this bank is properly a general cash, where every man lodges his money, because he esteems it safer, and easier paid in and out, than if it were in his coffers at home: and the bank is so far from paying any interest for what is there brought in, that money in the bank is worth something more in common payments, than what runs current in coin from hand to hand; no other money passing in the bank, but in the species of coin the best known, the most ascertained, and the most generally current in all parts of the higher as well as the lower *Germany*.

The revenues of *Amsterdam* arise out of the constant excise upon all sorts of commodities bought and sold within the precinct: or, out of the rents of those houses or lands that belong in common to the city: or, out of certain duties and impositions upon every house, towards the uses of charity, and the repairs, or adornments, or fortifications of the place: or else, out of extraordinary levies consented to by the Senate, for furnishing their part of the public charge that is agreed to by their Deputies in the Provincial-States, for the use of the Province: or by the Deputies of the States of *Holland* in the States-General, for support of the union. And all these payments are made into one common stock of the town, not, as many of ours are, into that of the parish, so as attempts may be easier made at the calculations of their whole revenue: and I have heard it affirmed, that what is paid of all kinds to public uses of the States-General, the Province, and the city in *Amsterdam*, amounts to above sixteen hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling* a-year. But I enter into no computations, nor give these for any thing

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more, than what I have heard from men who pretend-
ed to make such inquiries, which, I confess, I did not.
'Tis certain, that; in no town, strength, beauty, and
convenience are better provided for, nor with more
unlimited expence, than in this, by the magnificence
of their public buildings, as Stadthouse and Arsenals;
the number and spaciousness, as well as order and re-
venues of their many hospitals; the commodiousness
of their canals, running through the chief streets of
passage; the mighty strength of their bastions and
ramparts; and the neatness, as well as convenience,
of their streets, so far as can be compassed in so great
a confluence of industrious people; all which could
never be atchieved without a charge much exceeding
what seems proportioned to the revenue of one single
town.

The Senate chooses the Deputies, which are sent
from this city to the States of *Holland*; the sovereignty
whereof is represented by Deputies of the nobles
and towns, composing nineteen voices: of which the
nobles have only the first, and the cities eighteen, ac-
cording to the number of those which are called *Stemmen*,
the other cities and towns of the Province having no
voice in the States. These cities were originally but
six, *Dort*, *Haerlem*, *Delf*, *Leyden*, *Amsterdam*, and *Ter-
gou*; but were increased, by Prince *William of Nassau*,
to the number of eighteen, by the addition of *Rotter-
dam*, *Gorcum*, *Schedam*, *Schonoven*, *Briel*, *Alcmaer*, *Horne*,
Enchusen, *Edam*, *Moninckdam*, *Medenblick*, and *Per-
meren*. This makes as great an inequality in the govern-
ment of the Province, by such a small city as *Perme-
ren* having an equal voice in the Provincial-States with
Amsterdam (which pays perhaps half of all charges of
the Province) as seems to be in the States-General, by
so small a Province as *Overysse* having an equal voice
in the States-General with that of *Holland*, which con-
tributes more than half to the general charge of the uni-

on. But this was by some writers of that age interpreted to be done by the Prince's authority, to lessen that of the nobles, and balance that of the greater cities, by the voices of the smaller, whose dependences were easier to be gained and secured.

The nobles, though they are few in this Province, yet are not represented by all their number, but by eight or nine, who as Deputies from their body have session in the States-Provincial; and who, when one among them dies, choose another to succeed him. Though they have altogether but one voice equal to the smallest town; yet they are very considerable in the government, by possessing many of the best charges both civil and military, by having the direction of all the ecclesiastical revenue that was seized by the State, upon the change of religion; and by sending their Deputies to all the councils both of the Generality and the Province, and by the nomination of one Counsellor in the two great courts of justice. They give their voice first in the Assembly of the States, and thereby a great weight to the business in consultation. The Pensioner of *Holland* is seated with them, delivers their voice for them, and assists at all their deliberations, before they come to the Assembly. He is, properly, but minister or servant of the Province, and so his place or rank is behind all their Deputies; but has always great credit, because he is perpetual, or seldom discharged; though of right he ought to be chosen or renewed every fifth year. He has place in all the several assemblies of the Province, and in the States proposes all affairs, gathers the opinions, and forms or digests the resolutions; pretending likewise a power, not to conclude any very important affair by plurality of voices, when he judges in his conscience he ought not to do it, and that it will be of ill consequence or prejudice to the Province. He is likewise one of their constant Deputies in the States-General.

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The Deputies of the cities are drawn out of the Magistrates and Senate of each town: their number is uncertain and arbitrary, according to the customs or pleasure of the cities that send them, because they have all together but one voice, and are all maintained at their cities charge: but commonly one of the Burgomasters and the Pensioner are of the number.

The States of *Holland* have their session in the court at the *Hague*, and assemble ordinarily four times a-year, in *February*, *June*, *September*, and *November*. In the former sessions, they provide for the filling up of all vacant charges, and for renewing the farms of all the several taxes, and for consulting about any matters that concern either the general good of the Province, or any particular differences arising between the towns. But, in *November*, they meet purposely to resolve upon the continuance of the charge which falls to the share of their Province the following year, according to what may have been agreed upon by the Deputies of the States-General, as necessary for the support of the State of union.

For extraordinary occasions, they are convoked by a council called the *Gecommitteer de Raeden*, or the commissioned Counsellors, who are properly a council of State of the Province, composed of several Deputies; one from the nobles; one from each of the chief towns; and but one from three of the smaller towns, each of the three choosing him by turns. And this council sits constantly at the *Hague*, and both proposes to the Provincial-States, at their extraordinary assemblies, the matters of deliberation, and executes their resolutions.

In these assemblies, though all are equal in voices, and any one hinders a result; yet it seldom happens, but that, united by one common bond of interest, and having all one common end of public good, they come after full debates to easy resolutions; yielding to the
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power of reason, where it is clear and strong, and suppressing all private passions or interests, so as the smaller part seldom contests, hard or long, what the greater agrees of. When the Deputies of the States agree in opinion, they send some of their number to their respective towns, proposing the affair and the reasons alleged, and desiring orders from them to conclude; which seldom fails, if the necessity or utility be evident: if it be more intricate, or suffers delay, the States adjourn for such a time, as admits the return of all the Deputies to their towns; where their influence and interest, and the impressions of the debates in their provincial assemblies, make the consent of the cities easier gained.

Besides the States and council mentioned, the Province has likewise a chamber of accounts, who manage the general revenues of the Province: and, besides this trust, they have the absolute disposition of the ancient demesne of *Holland*, without giving any account to the States of the Province. Only at times, either upon usual intervals, or upon a necessity of money, the States call upon them for a subsidy of two or three hundred thousand crowns, or more, as they are pressed, or conceive the chamber to be grown rich, beyond what is proportioned to the general design of increasing the ease and fortunes of those persons who compose it. The States of *Holland* dispose of these charges to men grown aged in their service, and who have passed through most of the employments of State, with the esteem of prudence and integrity; and such persons find here an honourable and profitable retreat.

The Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, as they used formerly to have one Governor in the time of the houses of *Burgundy* and *Austria*; so they have long had one common judicature, which is exercised by two courts of justice, each of them common to both the Provinces. The first is composed of twelve Counsel-
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lors, nine of *Holland* and three of *Zealand*, of whom the Governor of the Provinces is the head; by the old constitution used to preside whenever he pleased, and to name all the Counsellors except one, who was chosen by the nobles. This court judges without appeal in all criminal causes; but in civil there lies appeal to the other court, which is called the High Council, from which there is no appeal, but only by petition to the States of the Province for a revision: when these judge there is reason for it, they grant letters-patents to that purpose, naming some *Syndiques* out of the towns, who, being added to the Counsellors of the two former courts, revise and judge the cause in the last resort. And this course seems to have been instituted by way of supply or imitation of the chamber of *Mecklin*, to which, before the revolt of the Provinces, there lay an appeal, by way of revision, from all or most of the provincial courts of justice, as there still doth in the *Spanish Provinces of the Netherlands*.

The union is made up of the Seven Sovereign Provinces before named, who choose their respective Deputies, and send them to the *Hague*, for the composing of three several colleges, called the States-General, the council of State, and the chamber of accounts. The sovereign power of this united State lies effectively in the Assembly of the States-General, which used at first to be convoked upon extraordinary occasions, by the council of State; but that seldom, in regard they usually consisted of above eight hundred persons, whose meeting together in one place, from so many several parts, gave too great a shake to the whole body of the union; made the debates long, and sometimes confused; the resolutions slow, and, upon sudden occasions, out of time. In the absence of the States-General, the council of State represented their authority, and executed their resolutions, and judged of the necessity of a new Convocation; till after the Earl of *Leicester's* departure from

from the government, the Provincial-States desired of the General, that they might, by their constant respective Deputies, continue their assemblies under the name of *States-General*, which were never after assembled but at *Bergen op Zoom*, for ratifying with more solemn form and authority the truce concluded with Duke *Albert* and *Spain*.

This desire of the Provinces was grounded upon the pretences that the council of State convoked them but seldom, and at will; and that, being to execute all in their absence, they thereby arrogated to themselves too great an authority in the State. But a more secret reason had greater weight in this affair, which was, that the *English* Ambassador had, by agreement with Queen *Elizabeth*, a constant place in their council of State; and, upon the distastes arising between the Provinces and the Earl of *Liecester*, with some jealousies of the Queen's disposition to make a peace with *Spain*, they had no mind that her Ambassador should be present any longer in the first digestion of their affairs, which was then usually made in the council of State. And hereupon they first framed the ordinary council, called the *States-General*, which has ever since passed by that name, and sits constantly in the court at the *Hague*, represents the sovereignty of the union, gives audience and dispatch to all foreign ministers; but yet is indeed only a representative of the *States-General*, the assemblies whereof are wholly disused.

The council of State, the admiralty, and the treasury, are all subordinate to this council: all of which are continued in as near a resemblance, as could be, to the several councils used in the time when the Provinces were subject to their several principalities; or united under one in the houses of *Burgundy* and *Austria*: only the several Deputies (composing one voice) now succeeding the single persons employed under the former government: and the *Hague*, which was the ancient seat

seat of the Counts of *Holland*, still continues to be so of all those councils; where, the palace of the former Sovereigns lodges the Prince of *Orange* as Governor, and receives these several councils as attending still upon the sovereignty, represented by the States-General.

The members of all these councils are placed and changed by the several Provinces according to their different or agreeing customs. To the States-General every one sends their Deputies, in what number they please; some two, some ten, or twelve; which makes no difference, because all matters are carried, not by the votes of persons, but of Provinces: and all the Deputies from one Province, how few or many soever, have one single vote. The Provinces differ likewise in the time fixed for their deputation; some sending for a year, some for more, and others for life. The Provinces of *Holland* send to the States-General one of their nobles, who is perpetual; two Deputies chosen out of their eight chief towns, and one out of *North-Holland*; and with these, two of their provincial council of State, and their *Pensioner*.

Neither Stadtholder or Governor, or any person in military charge, has session in the States-General. Every Province presides their week in turns, and by the most qualified person of the Deputies of that Province: he sits in a chair with arms, at the middle of a long table capable of holding about thirty persons; for about that number this council is usually composed of. The *Greffier*, who is in nature of a secretary, sits at the lower end of the table. When a foreign minister has audience, he is seated at the middle of this table, over-against the President, who proposes all matters in this assembly; makes the *Greffier* read all papers; puts the question; calls the voices of the Provinces; and forms the conclusion. Or, if he refuses to conclude according to the plurality, he is obliged to resign

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his place to the President of the ensuing week, who concludes for him.

This is the course in all affairs before them, except in cases of peace and war, of foreign alliances, of raising or coining of monies, or the privileges of each Province or member of the union. In all which, all the Provinces must concur, plurality being not at all weighed or observed. This council is not sovereign, but only represents the sovereignty; and therefore, though Ambassadors are both received and sent in their name, yet neither are their own chosen, nor foreign ministers answered, nor any of those mentioned affairs resolved, without consulting first the States of each Province by their respective Deputies, and receiving orders from them; and in other important matters, though decided by plurality, they frequently consult with the council of State.

Nor has this method or constitution ever been broken since their State began, excepting only in one affair, which was in *January* 1668, when his Majesty sent me over to propose a league of mutual defence with this State, and another for the preservation of *Flanders*, from the invasion of *France*, which had already conquered a great part of the *Spanish* Provinces, and left the rest at the mercy of the next campaign. Upon this occasion I had the fortune to prevail with the States-General to conclude three treaties, and upon them draw up and sign the several instruments, in the space of five days, without passing the essential forms of their government by any recourse to the Provinces, which must likewise have had it to the several cities: there, I knew, those foreign ministers, whose duty and interest it was to oppose this affair, expected to meet and to elude it; which could not have failed, in case it had run that circle, since engaging the voice of one city must have broken it: 'tis true, that in concluding these alliances without commission from their principals,

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the Deputies of the States-General ventured their heads; if they had been disowned by their Provinces; but being all unanimous, and led by the clear evidence of so direct and so important an interest (which must have been lost by the usual delays) they all agreed to run the hazard; and were so far from being disowned, that they were applauded by all the members of every Province: having thereby changed the whole face of affairs in Christendom, and laid the foundation of the triple-alliance; and the peace of *Aix* (which were concluded about four months after.) So great has the force of reason and interest ever proved in this State, not only to the uniting of all voices in their assemblies, but to the absolving of the greatest breach of their original constitutions; even in a State whose safety and greatness has been chiefly founded upon the severe and exact observance of order and method, in all their counsels and executions. Nor have they ever used, at any other time, any greater means to agree and unite the several members of their union, in the resolutions necessary, upon the most pressing occasions, than for the agreeing Provinces to name some of their ablest persons to go and confer with the dissenting, and represent those reasons and interests by which they have been induced to their opinions.

The council of State is composed of Deputies from the several Provinces, but after another manner than the States-General, the number being fixed. *Gelderland* sends two, *Holland* three, *Zealand* and *Utrecht* two apiece, *Friesland*, *Overyssel*, and *Groningen*, each of them one, making in all twelve. They vote not by Provinces, but by personal voices; and every Deputy presides by turns. In this council the Governor of the Provinces has session, and a decisive voice; and the Treasurer-General, session, but a voice only deliberative; yet he has much credit here, being for life; and so is the person deputed to this council from the Nobles

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Nobles of *Holland*, and the Deputies of the Province of *Zealand*. The rest are but for two, three, or four years.

The council of State executes the resolution of the States-General; consults and proposes to them the most expedient ways of raising troops, and levying monies, as well as the proportions of both, which they conceive necessary in all conjunctures and revolutions of the state; superintends the milice, the fortifications, the contributions out of the enemies country, the forms and disposal of all passports, and the affairs, revenues, and government of all places conquered since the union; which, being gained by the common arms of this State, depend upon the States-General, and not upon any particular Province.

Towards the end of every year, this council forms a state of the expence they conceive will be necessary for the year ensuing; presents it to the States-General, desiring them to demand so much of the States-Provincial, to be raised according to the usual proportions, which are, of 100,000 guilders.

	Grs.	St.	D.
<i>Gelderland</i> _____	3612	05	00
<i>Holland</i> _____	58,309	01	10
<i>Zealand</i> _____	9183	14	02
<i>Utrecht</i> _____	5830	17	11
<i>Friezland</i> _____	11,661	15	10
<i>Overyssel</i> _____	3571	08	04
<i>Groningue</i> _____	5930	17	11

This petition, as 'tis called, is made to the States-General, in the name of the Governor and council of State, which is but a continuance of the forms used in the time of their Sovereigns, and still by the Governors and council of State in the *Spanish Netherlands*: petition signifying barely asking or demanding, though implying

implying the thing demanded to be wholly in the right and power of them that give. It was used by the first Counts, only upon extraordinary occasions, and necessities; but in the time of the houses of *Burgundy* and *Austria* grew to be a thing of course, and annual, as it is still in the *Spanish* Provinces.

The council of State disposes of all sums of money destined for all extraordinary affairs, and expedites the orders for the whole expence of the State, upon the resolutions first taken, in the main, by the States-General. The orders must be signed by three Deputies of several Provinces, as well as by the Treasurer-General, and then registered in the chamber of accounts, before the Receiver-General pays them, which is then done without any difficulty, charge, or delay.

Every Province raises what monies it pleases, and by what ways or means, sends its *quota*, or share, of the general charge, to the Receiver-General, and converts the rest to the present use, or reserves it for the future occasions, of the Province.

The chamber of accounts was erected about sixty years ago, for the ease of the council of State, to examine and state all accounts of all the several receivers, to controul and register the orders of the council of State, which disposes of the finances: and this chamber is composed of two Deputies from each Province, who are changed every three years.

Besides these colleges, is the council of the Admiralty; who, when the States-General, by advice of the council of State, have destined a fleet of such a number and force to be set out, have the absolute disposition of the marine affairs, as well in the choice of equipage of all the several ships, as in issuing the monies allotted for that service.

This college is subdivided into five, of which three are in *Holland*, viz. one in *Amsterdam*, another at *Rotterdam*, and the third at *Horn*: the fourth is at *Middleburgh*
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in *Zealand*, and the fifth at *Harlinguen* in *Friezland*. Each of these is composed of seven Deputies, four of that Province where the college resides; and three named by the other Provinces. The Admiral, or, in his absence, the Vice-Admiral, has session in all these colleges, and presides when he is present. They take cognizance of all crimes committed at sea; judge all pirates that are taken, and all frauds or negligences in the payment or collections of the customs; which are particularly affected to the Admiralty, and applicable to no other use. This fund, being not sufficient in times of war, is supplied by the States with whatever more is necessary from other funds; but in time of peace, being little exhausted by other constant charge besides that of convoys to their several fleets of merchants in all parts, the remainder of this revenue is applied to the building of great ships of war, and furnishing the several arsenals and stores with all sorts of provision necessary for the building and rigging of more ships than can be needed by the course of a long war.

So soon as the number and force of the fleets designed for any expedition is agreed by the States-General, and given out by the council of State to the Admiralty; each particular college furnishes their own proportion, which is known as well as that of the several Provinces in all monies that are to be raised. In all which, the Admiral has no other share or advantage, besides his bare salary, and his proportion in prizes that are taken. The Captains and superior officers of each squadron are chosen by the several colleges; the number of men appointed for every ship: after which, each Captain uses his best diligence and credit to fill his number with the best men he can get, and takes the whole care and charge of victualling his own ship for the time intended for that expedition, and signified to him by the Admiralty; and this at a certain rate of so much a man. And by the good or ill discharge

charge of his trust, as well as that of providing Chirurgeons, medicines, and all things necessary for the health of the men, each Captain grows into good or ill credit with the seamen, and by their report, with the Admiralties; upon whose opinion and esteem the fortune of all sea-officers depends: so as, in all their expeditions, there appears rather an emulation among the particular Captains, who shall treat his seamen best in these points, and employ the monies allotted for their victualling to the best advantage, than any little knavish practices, of filling their own purses by keeping their mens bellies empty, or forcing them to corrupted unwholsom diet: upon which, and upon cleanliness in their ships, the health of many people crowded up into so little room seems chiefly to depend.

The salaries of all the great officers of this State are very small: I have already mentioned that of a Burgomaster's of *Amsterdam* to be about fifty Pounds *Sterling* a-year: that of their Vice-Admiral (for since the last Prince of *Orange's* death, to the year 1670, there had been no Admiral) is five hundred, and that of the *Pensioner* of *Holland* two hundred.

The greatness of this State seems much to consist in these orders, how confused soever, and of different pieces, they may seem: but more in two main effects of them, which are, the good choice of the officers of chief trust in the cities, Provinces, and State: and the great simplicity and modesty in the common port or living of their chiefest ministers; without which, the absoluteness of the Senates in each town, and the immensity of taxes through the whole State, would never be endured by the people with any patience; being both of them greater than in many of those governments, which are esteemed most arbitrary among their neighbours. But in the assemblies and debates of their Senates, every man's abilities are discovered, as their dispositions are in the conduct of their lives

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and domestic among their fellow-citizens. The observation of these either raises, or suppresses, the credit of particular men, both among the people, and the Senates, of their towns; who, to maintain their authority with less popular envy or discontent, give much to the general opinion of the people in the choice of their Magistrates: by this means it comes to pass, that, though perhaps the nation generally be not wise, yet the government is, because it is composed of the wisest of the nation; which may give it an advantage over many others, where ability is of more common growth, but of less use to the public; if it happens that neither wisdom nor honesty are the qualities, which bring men to the management of state-affairs, as they usually do in this commonwealth.

Besides, though these people who are naturally cold and heavy may not be ingenious enough to furnish a pleasant or agreeable conversation, yet they want not plain downright sense to understand and do their business both public and private, which is a talent very different from the other; and I know not whether they often meet: for the first proceeds from heat of the brain, which makes the spirits more airy and volatile, and thereby the motions of thought lighter and quicker, and the range of imagination much greater than in cold heads where the spirits are more earthy and dull: thought moves slower and heavier, but thereby the impressions of it are deeper, and last longer; one imagination being not so frequently, nor so easily effaced by another, as where new ones are continually arising. This makes duller men more constant and steady, and quicker men more inconstant and uncertain; whereas the greatest ability in business seems to be the steady pursuit of some one thing, till there is an end of it, with perpetual application and endeavour not to be diverted by every representation of new hopes or fears of difficulty or danger, or of some better design. The first

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of these talents cuts like a razor, the other like a hatchet; one has thinness of edge, and fineness of metal and temper, but is easily turned by any substance that is hard and resists: the other has toughness and weight which makes it cut through, or go deep wherever it falls; and therefore one is for adornment, the other for use.

It may be said further, that the heat of the heart commonly goes along with that of the brain; so that passions are warmer, where imaginations are quicker: and there are few men (unless in case of some evident natural defect) but have sense enough to distinguish in gross between right and wrong, between good and bad, when represented to them; and consequently have judgment enough to do their business, if it be left to itself, and not swayed nor corrupted by some humour or passion, by anger or pride, by love or by scorn, ambition or avarice, delight or revenge: so that the coldness of passion seems to be the natural ground of ability and honesty among men, as the government or moderation of them the great end of philosophical and moral instructions. These speculations may perhaps a little lessen the common wonder, how we should meet with in one nation so little shew of parts and of wit, and so great evidence of wisdom and prudence, as has appeared in the conduct and successes of this state, for near an hundred years, which needs no other testimony, than the mighty growth and power it arrived to from so weak and contemptible seeds and beginnings.

The other circumstance I mentioned, as an occasion of their greatness, was the simplicity and modesty of their Magistrates in their way of living, which is so general, that I never knew one among them exceed the common frugal popular air: and so great, that of the two chief officers in my time, Vice-admiral *De Ruiter*, and the Pensioner *De Wit*; (one generally esteemed by foreign nations

nations as great a seaman, and the other as great a statesman, as any of their age); I never saw the first in cloaths better than the commonest sea-captain, nor with above one man following him, nor in a coach: and, in his own house, neither was the size, building, furniture, or entertainment, at all exceeding the use of every common merchant and tradesman in his town. For the Pensioner *De Wit*, who had the great influence in the government, the whole train and expence of his domestics went very equal with other common Deputies or Ministers of the state; his habit grave, and plain, and popular; his table, what only served turn for his family, or a friend; his train (besides commissaries and clerks kept for him, in an office adjoining to his house, at the public charge) was only one man, who performed all the menial services of his house at home; and, upon his visits of ceremony, putting on a plain livery-cloak, attended his coach abroad: for, upon other occasions, he was seen usually in the streets, on foot, and alone, like the commonest burgher of the town. Nor was this manner of life affected, or used only by these particular men, but was the general fashion and mode among all the magistrates of the state: for I speak not of the military officers, who are reckoned their servants, and live in a different garb, though generally modester than in other countries.

Thus this stomachful people, who could not endure the least exercise of arbitrary power or impositions, or the sight of any foreign troops under the *Spanish* government, has since been inured to all of them, in the highest degree under their own popular magistrates; bridled with hard laws, terrified with severe executions, environed with foreign forces; and oppressed with the most cruel hardship and variety of taxes that was ever known under any government. But all this, whilst the way to office and authority lies through those qualities which acquire the general esteem of the people;

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whilst no man is exempted from the danger and current of laws; whilst soldiers are confined to frontier garrisons (the guard of inland or trading towns being left to the burghers themselves); and whilst no great riches are seen to enter by public payments into private purses, either to raise families, or to feed the prodigal expences of vain, extravagant, and luxurious men; but all public monies are applied to the safety, greatness or honour of the State, and the Magistrates themselves bear an equal share in all the burdens they impose.

The authority of the Princes of *Orange*, though intermitted upon the untimely death of the last, and infancy of this present Prince; yet, as it must be ever acknowledged to have had a most essential part in the first frame of this government, and in all the fortunes thereof, during the whole growth and progress of the state: so has it ever preserved a very strong root, not only in six of the Provinces, but even in the general and popular affections of the Province of *Holland* itself, whose states have, for these last twenty years, so much endeavoured to suppress, or exclude it.

This began in the person of Prince *William* of *Nassau*, at the very birth of the state, and not so much by the quality of being Governor of *Holland* and *Zealand* in *Charles V.*'s and *Philip II.*'s time; as by the esteem of so great wisdom, goodness, and courage, as excelled in that Prince, and seems to have been from him derived to his whole race; being, indeed, the qualities that naturally acquire esteem and authority among the people, in all governments. Nor has this nation in particular, since the time perhaps of *Civilis*, ever been without some head, under some title or other; but always an head subordinate to their laws and customs, and to the sovereign power of the state.

In the first constitution of this government, after the revolt from *Spain*, all the power and rights of
Prince

Prince *William of Orange*, as Governor of the Provinces, seem to have been carefully reserved. But those which remained inherent in the Sovereign, were devolved upon the assembly of the States-general, so as in them remained the power of making peace and war, and all foreign alliances, and of raising and coining of monies. In the Prince, the command of all land and sea forces, as Captain-general and Admiral, and thereby the disposition of all military commands, the power of pardoning the penalty of crimes, the choosing of magistrates upon the nomination of the towns; for they presented three to the Prince who elected one out of that number. Originally the States-general were convoked by the council of state where the Prince had the greatest influence: nor, since that change, have the States used to resolve any important matter without his advice. Besides all this, as the States-general represented the sovereignty, so did the Prince of *Orange* the dignity of this state, by public guards, and the attendance of all military officers; by the application of all foreign ministers, and all pretenders at home; by the splendor of his court and magnificence of his expence; supported not only by the pensions and rights of his several charges and commands, but by a mighty patrimonial revenue in lands and sovereign principalities and lordships, as well in *France*, *Germany*, and *Burgundy*, as in the several parts of the Seventeen Provinces; so as Prince *Henry* was used to answer some that would have flattered him into the designs of a more arbitrary power, that he had as much as any wise prince would desire in that state; since he wanted none indeed, besides that of punishing men, and raising money; whereas he had rather the envy of the first should lie upon the forms of the government, and he knew the other could never be supported without the consent of the people to that degree which was necessary

fary for the defence of so small a state, against so mighty Princes as their neighbours.

Upon these foundations was this State first established, and by these orders maintained, till the death of the last Prince of *Orange*: when, by the great influence of the Province of *Holland* among the rest, the authority of the Princes came to be shared among the several magistracies of the State; those of the cities assumed the last nomination of their several Magistrates; the States Provincial, the disposal of all military commands in those troops, which their share was to pay; and the States General, the command of the armies, by officers of their own appointment, substituted and changed at their will. No power remained to pardon what was once condemned by rigour of law; nor any person to represent the port and dignity of a Sovereign State: both which could not fail of being sensibly missed by the people; since no man in particular can be sure of offending, or would therefore absolutely despair of impunity himself, though he would have others do so; and men are generally pleased with the pomp and splendour of a government, not only as it is an amusement for idle people, but as it is a mark of the greatness, honour, and riches of their country.

However, these defects were for near twenty years supplied in some measure, and this frame supported by the great authority and riches of the Province of *Holland*, which drew a sort of dependence from the other six; and by the great sufficiency, integrity, and constancy of their chief Minister, and by the effect of both in the prosperous successes of their affairs: yet having been a constitution strained against the current vein and humour of the people; it was always evident, that upon the growth of this young Prince, the great virtues and qualities he derived from the mixture of such royal and such princely blood, could not fail, in time, of
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raising his authority to equal, at least, if not to surpass that of his glorious ancestors.

Because the curious may desire to know something of the other Provinces, as well as *Holland*, at least in general, and where they differ: it may be observed, that the constitutions of *Gelderland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht* agree much with those of *Holland*; the States in each Province being composed of Deputies from the Nobles and the cities: but with these small differences; in *Gelderland*, all the Nobles, that have certain fees or lordships, in the Province, have session, they compose one half of the States, and the Deputies of the towns the other; and though some certain persons among them are deputed to the States-General, yet any of the Nobles of *Gelder* may have place there, if he will attend at his own charge.

In *Zealand*, the nobility having been extinguished in the *Spanish* wars, and the Prince of *Orange* possessing the marquisesates of *Flushing* and *Terveer*, his Highness alone makes that part of the States in the Province, by the quality and title of first, or sole Noble of *Zealand*; and thereby has, by his Deputy, the first place and voice in the States of the Province, the council of State, and chamber of accounts: as Sovereign of *Flushing* and *Terveer*, he likewise creates the Magistrates, and consequently disposes the voices, not only of the Nobles, but also of two towns, whereas there are in all but six that send their Deputies to the States, and make up the sovereignty of the Province.

In *Utrecht*, besides the Deputies of the Nobles and towns, eight Delegates of the Clergy have session, and make a third member in the States of the Province. These are elected out of the four great Chapters of the town, the preferments and revenues whereof (though anciently ecclesiastical) yet are now possessed by lay-persons, who are most of them gentlemen of the Province.

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The government of the Province of *Friezland* is wholly different from that of the four Provinces already mentioned; and is composed of four members, which are called, the quarter of *Ostergo*, consisting of eleven Baillages; of *Westergo*, consisting of nine; and of *Sevearwolden*, consisting of ten. Each Baillage comprehends a certain number of villages, ten, twelve, fifteen, or twenty, according to their several extents. The fourth member consists of the towns of the Province, which are eleven in number. These four members have each of them right of sending their Deputies to the States, that is, two chosen out of every Baillage, and two out of every town. And these represent the sovereignty of the Province, and deliberate and conclude of all affairs, of what importance soever, without any recourse to those who deputed them, or obligation to know their intentions, which the Deputies of all the former Provinces are strictly bound to, and either must follow the instructions they bring with them to the assembly, or know the resolution of their principals, before they conclude of any new affair that arises.

In the other Provinces, the Nobles of the towns choose the Deputies which compose the state; but, in *Friezland*, the constitution is of quite another sort: for every Baillage, which is composed of a certain extent of country and number of villages (as has been said) is governed by a Bailie, whom, in their language, they call *greetman*, and this officer governs his circuit, with the assistance of a certain number of persons who are called his assessors, who together judge of all civil causes in the first instance, but with appeal to the court of justice of the Province. When the States are convoked, every Bailie assembles together all the persons of what quality soever, who possess a certain quantity of lands within his district, and these men, by most voices,

voices, name the two Deputies which each Baillage sends to the assembly of the States.

This assembly, as it represents the sovereignty of the Province, so it disposes of all vacant charges, chooses the nine Deputies who compose that permanent college which is the council of State of the Province, and likewise twelve Counsellors (that is, three for every quarter) who compose the court of justice of the Province, and judge of all civil causes in the last resort, but of all criminal from the first instance, there being no other criminal jurisdiction, but this only, through the Province; whereas, in the other Provinces, there is no town which has it not within itself; and several, both Lords, and villages, have the high and low justice belonging to them.

In the Province of *Groningue*, which is upon the same tract of land, the elections of the Deputies out of the country are made as in *Friezland*, by persons possessed of set proportions of land; but, in *Overyffel*, all Nobles who are qualified by having seigneurial lands make a part of the States.

These three Provinces, with *Westphalia*, and all those countries between the *Wezer*, the *Yffel*, and the *Rhine*, were the seat of the ancient *Frizons*, who, under the name of *Saxons* (given them from the weapon they wore, made like a sicke, with the edge outwards, and called in their language *Seaxes*) were the fierce conquerors of our *British Island*, being called in upon the desertion of the *Roman* forces, and the cruel incursions of the *Picts* against a people whose long wars, at first with the *Romans*, and afterwards servitude under them, had exhausted all the bravest blood of their nation, either in their own, or their masters, succeeding quarrels, and depressed the hearts and courages of the rest.

The Bishop of *Munster*, whose territories lie in this tract of land, gave me the first certain evidences of those

those being the seats of our ancient *Saxons*, which have since been confirmed to me by many things I have observed in reading the stories of those times, and by what has been affirmed to me upon inquiry of the *Frizons* old language having still so great affinity with our old *English*, as to appear easily to have been the same; most of their words still retaining the same signification and sound, very different from the language of the *Hollanders*. This is the most remarkable in a little town called *Malcuera* upon the *Zudder* sea, in *Friezland*, which is still built after the fashion of the old *German* villages, described by *Tacitus*; without any use or observation of lines or angles; but as if every man had built in a common field, just where he had a mind, so as a stranger, when he goes in, must have a guide to find the way out again.

Upon these informations and remarks, and the particular accounts afterwards given me of the constitutions of the Province of *Friezland*, so different from the others; I began to make reflexions upon them as the likeliest originals of many ancient constitutions among us, of which no others can be found, and which may seem to have been introduced by the *Saxons* here, and by their long and absolute possession of that part of the isle, called *England*, to have been so planted and rooted among us, as to have waded safe, in a great measure, through the succeeding inundations and conquests of the *Danish* and *Norman* nations. And, perhaps, there may be much matter found for the curious remarks of some diligent and studious antiquaries, in the comparisons of the *Bailli* or *Greetman* among the *Frizons*, with our *Sheriff*: of their *Assessors*, with our *Justices* of peace: of their judging civil causes in their district, upon the first resort, but not without appeal, with the course of our *Quarter-Sessions*: of their chief judicature, being composed of *Counsellors* of four several quarters, with our four circuits.

circuits. Of these being the common criminal judicature of the country: of the composition of their States, with our Parliament, at least, our house of Commons: in the particulars of two Deputies being chosen from each town, as with us, and two from each Baillage, as from each county here: and these last by voices of all persons, possessed of a certain quantity of land, and at a meeting assembled by the *Greetman* to that purpose: and these Deputies having power to resolve of all matters without resort to those that choose them, or knowledge of their intentions; which are all circumstances agreeing with our constitutions, but absolutely differing from those of the other Provinces in the United States, and from the composition, I think, of the States, either now, or formerly, used in the other nations of *Europe*.

To this original, I suppose, we likewise owe what I have often wondered at, that in *England* we neither see, nor find upon record, any Lord, or lordship that pretends to have the exercise of judicature belonging to it, either that which is called high or low justice, which seems to be a badge of some ancient sovereignty: though we see them very frequent among our neighbours, both under more arbitrary monarchies, and under the most free and popular States.

CHAP. III.

Of their SITUATION.

Holland, Zealand, Friezland, and Groninguen are seated upon the sea, and make the strength and greatness of this State: the other three, with the conquered towns in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and *Cleve*, make only the outworks or frontiers, serving chiefly for safety and defence of these. No man can tell the strange

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and mighty changes, that may have been made in the face and bounds of maritime countries, at one time or other, by furious inundations, upon the unusual concurrence of land-floods, winds, and tides; and therefore no man knows, whether the Province of *Holland* may not have been, in past ages, all wood, and rough unequal ground, as some old traditions go; and levelled to what we see, by the sea's breaking in, and continuing long upon the land, since recovered by its recess, and with the help of industry. For it is evident, that the sea, for some space of years, advances continually upon one coast, retiring from the opposite; and, in another age, quite changes this course, yielding up what it had seized, and seizing what it had yielded up, without any reason to be given of such contrary motions. But, I suppose, this great change was made in *Holland*, when the sea first parted *England* from the continent, breaking through a neck of land between *Dover* and *Calais*; which may be a tale, but I am sure is no record. It is certain, on the contrary, that sixteen hundred years ago there was no usual mention or memory of any such changes; and that the face of all these coasts, and nature of the soil, especially that of *Holland*, was much as it is now; allowing only the improvements of riches, time and industry; which appears by the description made in *Tacitus* *, both of the limits of the isle of *Batavia*, and the nature of the soil, as well as the climate, with the very names and course of rivers, still remaining.

'Tis likely, the changes arrived since that age in these countries may have been made by stoppages grown in
time

* *Rhenus apud principium agri Batavi velut in duos amnes dividitur, ad Gallicam ripam latior et placidior, verso cognomento Vahalem accolae dicunt, mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Mosâ flumine, ejusque immenso ore eundem in oceanum effunditur.*

Cum interim fluxu autumni et crebris imbris superfluis amnis palustrem humilemque insulam in faciem stagni opplevit.

time with the rolling of sands upon the mouths of three great rivers, which disembogued into the sea through the coasts of these Provinces; that is, the *Rhine*, the *Maes*, and the *Scheld*. The ancient *Rhine* divided, where *Skencksconce* now stands, into two rivers; of which, one kept the name, till, running near *Leyden*, it fell into the sea at *Gatwick*; where are still seen, at low tides, the foundations of an ancient *Roman* castle that commanded the mouth of this river: but this is wholly stopped up, though a great canal still preserves the name of the old *Rhine*. The *Maes*, running by *Dort* and *Rotterdam*, fell, as it now does, into the sea at the *Briel*, with mighty issues of water; but the sands, gathered for three or four leagues upon this coast, make the haven extreme dangerous, without great skill of pilots, and use of pilot-boats, that come out with every tide, to welcome and secure the ships bound for that river: and it is probable, that these sands having obstructed the free course of the river, has at times caused or increased those inundations, out of which so many islands have been recovered, and of which that part of the country is so much composed.

The *Scheld* seems to have had its issue by *Walcherin* in *Zealand*, which was an island in the mouth of that river, till the inundations of that, and the *Maes*, seem to have been joined together, by some great helps, or irruptions of the sea, by which the whole country was overwhelmed, which now makes that inland-sea that serves for a common passage between *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*: the sea, for some leagues from *Zealand*, lies generally upon such banks of sand, as it does upon the mouth of the *Maes*, though separated by something better channels than are found in the other.

That which seems likeliest to have been the occasion of stopping up wholly one of these rivers, and obstructing the others, is the course of westerly winds (which drive

drive upon this shore) being so much more constant and violent than the East: for, taking the seasons, and years, one with another, I suppose, there will be observed three parts of Westerly for one Easterly winds: besides, that these generally attend the calm frosts and fair weather; and the other the stormy and foul. And I have had occasion to make experiment of the sands rising and sinking before a haven, by two fits of these contrary winds, above four feet. This, I presume, is likewise the natural reason of so many deep and commodious havens found upon all the *English* side of the channel, and so few (or indeed none) upon the *French* and *Dutch*: an advantage seeming to be given us by nature, and never to be equalled by any art or expence of our neighbours.

I remember no mention in ancient authors of that, which is now called the *Zudder* sea; which makes me imagine, that may have been formed likewise by some great inundation, breaking in between the *Tessel*-islands, and others, that lie still in a line contiguous, and like the broken remainders of a continued coast. This seems more probable, from the great shallowness of that sea, and flatness of the sands, upon the whole extent of it; from the violent rage of the waters breaking in that way, which threaten the parts of *North-Holland* about *Medenblick* and *Enchusen*, and brave it over the highest and strongest digues of the Province, upon every high tide, and storm at North-West; as likewise from the names of *East* and *West Friezland*, which should have been one continent, till divided by this sea: for, in the time of *Tacitus**, no other distinction was known, but that of greater or lesser *Frizons*, and that only from the measure of their numbers, or forces; and though they were said to have

great

* A fronte Frisii excipiunt majoribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum, ex modo virium utraeque nationes usque ad oceanum Rheno praetexuntur.

great lakes among them, yet that word seems to import they were of fresh water, which is made yet plainer by the word * *ambiunt*, that shews those lakes to have been inhabited round by these nations; from all this I should guess, that the more inland part of the *Zudder* sea was one of the lakes there mentioned, between which and the *Tessel* and *Ulie* islands there lay anciently a great tract of land (where the sands are still so shallow, and so continued, as seems to make it evident :) but since covered by some great irruptions of water, that joined those of the sea and the lake together, and thereby made that great bay, now called the *Zudder Sea*, by favour whereof the town of *Amsterdam* has grown to be the most frequented haven of the world.

Whatever it was, whether nature or accident, and upon what occasion soever it arrived, the soil of the whole Province of *Holland* is generally flat, like the sea in a calm, and looks as if after a long contention between land and water, which it should belong to, it had at length been divided between them: for to consider the great rivers, and the strange number of canals that are found in this Province, and do not only lead to every great town, but almost to every village, and every farm-house in the country; and the infinity of sails that are seen every where coursing up and down upon them; one would imagine the water to have shared with the land; and the people that live in boats to hold some proportion with those that live in houses, And this is one great advantage towards trade, which is natural to the situation, and not to be attained in any country, where there is not the same level and softness of soil, which makes the cutting of canals so easy work, as to be attempted almost by every private man: and one horse shall draw in a boat more than fifty can do by cart, whereas carriage makes a great part of the price in all heavy commodities: and by this

* *Ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus. Tacit. de mor. Ger.*

this easy way of travelling, an industrious man loses no time from his business, for he writes, or eats, or sleeps, while he goes; whereas the time of labouring or industrious men is the greatest native commodity of any country.

There is, besides, one very great lake of fresh water still remaining in the midst of this Province, by the name of *Harle Maer*, which might, as they say, be easily drained, and would thereby make a mighty addition of land to a country, where nothing is more wanted; and receive a great quantity of people, in which they abound, and to make their greatness and riches. Much discourse there has been about such an attempt; but the city of *Leyden* having no other way of refreshing their town, or renewing the water of their canals, but from this *Maer*, will never consent to it. On the other side, *Amsterdam* will ever oppose the opening and cleansing of the old channel of the *Rhine*, which, they say, might easily be compassed, and by which the town of *Leyden* would grow maritime, and share a great part of the trade now engrossed by *Amsterdam*. There is in *North-Holland* an essay already made at the possibility of draining these great lakes, by one of about two leagues broad having been made firm land, within these forty years: this makes that part of the country called the *Bemster*, being now the richest soil of the Province, lying upon a dead flat, divided with canals, and the ways through it distinguished with ranges of trees, which make the pleasantest summer landscape of any country I have seen, of that sort.

Another advantage of their situation for trade is made by those two great rivers of the *Rhine* and *Maes*, reaching up, and navigable so mighty a length, into so rich and populous countries of the higher and lower *Germany*; which as it brings down all the commodities from those parts to the magazines of *Holland*, that

vent them by their shipping into all parts of the world; where the market calls for them; so, with something more labour and time, it returns all the merchandizes of other parts, into those countries that are seated upon those streams. For their commodious seat, as to the trade of the *Straits*, or *Baltick*, or any parts of the ocean, I see no advantage they have of most parts of *England*; and they must certainly yield to many we possess, if we had other equal circumstances to value them.

The lowness and flatness of their lands makes in a great measure the richness of their soil, that is easily overflowed every winter, so as the whole country, at that season, seems to lie under water, which, in spring, is driven out again by mills. But that which mends the earth, spoils the air, which would be all fog and mist, if it were not cleared by the sharpness of their frosts, which never fail with every East wind for about four months of the year, and are much fiercer than in the same latitude with us, because that wind comes to them over a mighty length of dry continent; but is moistened by the vapours, or softened by the warmth of the sea's motion, before it reaches us.

And this is the greatest disadvantage of trade they receive from their situation, though necessary to their health; because many times their havens are all shut up for two or three months with ice, when ours are open and free.

The fierce sharpness of these winds makes the changes of their weather and seasons more violent and surprising, than in any place I know; so as a warm faint air turns in a night to a stark frost, with the wind coming into the North-East: and the contrary with another change of wind. The spring is much shorter, and less agreeable, than with us; the winter much colder, and some parts of the summer much hotter, and

and I have known, more than once, the violence of one give way to that of the other, like the cold fit of an ague to the hot, without any good temper between.

The flatness of their land exposes it to the danger of the sea, and forces them to infinite charge in the continual fences and repairs of their banks to oppose it; which employ yearly more men, than all the corn of the Province of *Holland* could maintain (as one of their chief Ministers has told me.) They have lately found the common sea-weed to be the best material for these digues, which, fastened with a thin mixture of earth, yields a little to the force of the sea, and returns when the waves give back: whether they are thereby the safer against water, as, they say, houses that shake are against wind; or whether, as pious naturalists observe, all things carry about them that which serves for a remedy against the mischief they do in the world.

The extreme moisture of the air I take to be the occasion of the great neatness of their houses, and cleanliness in their towns. For without the help of those customs their country would not be habitable by such crowds of people, but the air would corrupt upon every hot season, and expose the inhabitants to general and infectious diseases; which they hardly escape three summers together, especially about *Leyden*, where the waters are not so easily renewed; and for this reason, I suppose, it is, that *Leyden* is found to be the neatest and cleanliest kept, of all their towns.

The same moisture of air makes all metals apt to rust and wood to mould; which forces them, by continual pains of rubbing and scouring, to seek a prevention, or cure: this makes the brightness and cleanliness that seems affected in their houses, and is called natural to them, by people who think no further. So the deepness of their soil, and wetness of seasons, which would render it unpassable, forces them, not only to exactness of paving in their streets, but to the expence
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of so long cawseys between many of their towns, and in their highways: as indeed, most national customs are the effect of some unseen, or unobserved natural causes, or necessities.

CHAP. IV.

Of their People and Dispositions.

THE people of *Holland* may be divided into these several classes: the clowns or boors (as they call them) who cultivate the land. The mariners or schippers, who supply their ships and inland-boats. The merchants or traders, who fill their towns. The *Renteners*, or men that live in all their chief cities upon the rents or interest of estates formerly acquired in their families: and the Gentlemen, and officers of their armies.

The first are a race of people diligent rather than laborious; dull and slow of understanding, and so not dealt with by hasty words, but managed easily by soft and fair; and yielding to plain reason, if you give them time to understand it. In the country and villages, not too near the great towns, they seem plain and honest, and content with their own; so that if, in bounty, you give them a shilling for what is worth but a groat, they will take the current price, and give you the rest again; if you bid them take it, they know not what you mean, and sometimes ask, if you are a fool. They know no other good but the supply of what nature requires, and the common increase of wealth. They feed most upon herbs, roots, and milks; and by that means, I suppose, neither their strength

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nor vigour seem answerable to the size or bulk of their bodies.

The mariners are a plain, but much rougher people; whether from the element they live in, or from their food, which is generally fish and corn, and heartier than that of the boors. They are surly and ill-mannered, which is mistaken for pride; but, I believe, is learned, as all manners are, by the conversation we use. Now theirs lying only among one another, or with winds and waves, which are not moved or wrought upon by any language or observance, or to be dealt with, but by pains and by patience; these are all the qualities their mariners have learned; their valour is *passive* rather than *active*; and their language is little more, than what is of necessary use to their business.

The merchants and tradesmen, both the greater and mechanic, living in towns that are of great resort, both by strangers and passengers of their own, are more *mercurial* (wit being sharpened by commerce and conversation of cities) though they are not very inventive, which is the gift of warmer heads; yet are they great in imitation, and so far, many times, as goes beyond originals: of mighty industry, and constant application to the ends they propose and pursue. They make use of their skill, and their wit, to take advantage of other mens ignorance and folly they deal with; are great exacters, where the law is in their own hands: in other points, where they deal with men that understand like themselves, and are under the reach of justice and laws, they are the plainest and best dealers in the world; which seems not to grow so much from a principle of conscience, or morality, as from a custom or habit introduced by the necessity of trade among them, which depends as much upon common honesty, as war does upon discipline; and without which all would break up, merchants would turn pedlars, and soldiers thieves.

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Those families, which live upon their patrimonial estates in all the great cities, are a people differently bred and mannered from the traders, though like them in the modesty of garb and habit, and the parsimony of living. Their youth are generally bred up at schools, and at the universities of *Leyden* or *Utrecht*, in the common studies of human learning, but chiefly of the civil law, which is that of their country, at least as far as it is so in *France* and *Spain*. For (as much as I understand of those countries) no decisions or decrees of the civil law, nor constitutions of the *Roman* Emperors, have the force or current of law among them, as is commonly believed, but only the force of reasons when alledged before their courts of judicature, as far as the authority of men esteemed wise passes for reason: but the ancient customs of those several countries, and the ordonnances of their Kings and Princes, consented to by the Estates, or in *France* verified by Parliaments, have only the strength and authority of law among them.

Where these families are rich, their youths, after the course of their studies at home, travel for some years, as the sons of our gentry use to do; but their journies are chiefly into *England* and *France*, not much into *Italy*, seldom into *Spain*, nor often into the more northern countries, unless in company or train of their public Ministers. The chief end of their breeding is, to make them fit for the service of their country in the magistracy of their towns, their Provinces, and their State. And of these kind of men are the civil officers of this government generally composed, being descended of families who have many times been constantly in the magistracy of their native towns for many years, and some for several ages.

Such were most or all of the chief Ministers, and the persons that composed their chief councils, in the time of my residence among them; and not men of mean

mean or mechanic trades, as it is commonly received among foreigners, and makes the subject of comical jests upon their government. This does not exclude many merchants, or traders in gross, from being often seen in the offices of their cities, and sometimes deputed to their States; nor several of their States from turning their stocks in the management of some very beneficial trade by servants, and houses maintained to that purpose. But the generality of the States and Magistrates are of the other sort; their estates consisting in the pensions of their public charges, in the rents of lands, or interest of money upon the *Can-torcs*, or in actions of the *East-India* company, or in shares upon the adventures of great trading merchants.

Nor do these families, habituated as it were to the magistracy of their towns and Provinces, usually arrive at great or excessive riches; the salaries of public employments and interest being low, but the revenue of lands being yet very much lower, and seldom exceeding the profit of two in the hundred. They content themselves with the honour of being useful to the public, with the esteem of their cities or their country, and with the ease of their fortunes; which seldom fails, by the frugality of their living, grown universal by being (I suppose) at first necessary, but since honourable, among them.

The mighty growth and excess of riches is seen among the merchants and traders, whose application lies wholly that way, and who are the better content to have so little share in the government, desiring only security in what they possess; troubled with no cares but those of their fortunes, and the management of their trades, and turning the rest of their time and thought to the divertisement of their lives. Yet these, when they attain great wealth, choose to breed up their sons in the way, and marry their daughters into the families of those others most generally credited in
their

their towns, and versed in their magistracies; and thereby introduce their families into the way of government and honour, which consists not here in titles, but in public employments.

The next rank among them, is that of their Gentlemen or Nobles, who in the Province of *Holland* (to which I chiefly confine these observations) are very few, most of the families having been extinguished in the long wars with *Spain*. But those that remain, are in a manner all employed in the military or civil charges of the Province or State. These are, in their customs, and manners, and way of living, a good deal different from the rest of the people; and, having been bred much abroad, rather affect the garb of their neighbour-courts, than the popular air of their own country. They value themselves more upon their Nobility, than men do in other countries, where 'tis more common; and would think themselves utterly dishonoured by the marriage of one that were not of their rank, though it were to make up the broken fortune of a noble family, by the wealth of a *Plebeian*. They strive to imitate the *French*, in their mien, their cloaths, their way of talk, of eating, of gallantry or debauchery; and are, in my mind, something worse than they would be, by affecting to be better than they need; making sometimes but ill copies, whereas they might be good originals, by refining or improving the customs or virtues proper to their own country and climate. They are otherwise an honest, well-natured, friendly, and gentlemanly sort of men, and acquit themselves generally with honour and merit, where their country employs them.

The officers of their armies live after the customs and fashions of the gentlemen; and so do many sons of the rich merchants, who, returning from travel abroad, have more designs upon their own pleasure, and the vanity of appearing, than upon the service of
their

their country: or, if they pretend to enter into that, it is rather by the army than the State. And all these are generally desirous to see a court in their country, that they may value themselves at home, by the qualities they have learned abroad; and make a figure, which agrees better with their own humour, and the manner of courts, than with the customs and orders that prevail in more popular governments.

There are some customs, or dispositions, that seem to run generally through all these degrees of men among them; as great frugality, and order, in their expences. Their common riches lie in every man's having more than he spends; or, to say it more properly, in every man's spending less than he has coming in, be that what it will: nor does it enter into men's heads among them, that the common port or course of expence should equal the revenue; and when this happens, they think at least they have lived that year to no purpose; and the train of it discredits a man among them, as much as any vicious or prodigal extravagance does in other countries. This enables every man to bear their extreme taxes, and makes them less sensible than they would be in other places: for he that lives upon two parts in five of what he has coming in, if he pays two more to the State, he does but part with what he should have laid up, and had no present use for; whereas, he that spends yearly what he receives, if he pays but the fiftieth part to the public, it goes from him, like that which was necessary to buy bread or cloaths for himself or his family.

This makes the beauty and strength of their towns, the commodiousness of travelling in their country by their canals, bridges, and cawseys; the pleasantness of their walks, and their grafts in and near all their cities: and in short, the beauty, convenience, and sometimes magnificence, of their public works, to which every man pays as willingly, and takes as much

pleasure

pleasure and vanity in them, as those of other countries do in the same circumstances, among the possessions of their families, or private inheritance. What they can spare, besides the necessary expence of their domestic, the public payments, and the common course of still increasing their stock, is laid out in the fabric, adornment or furniture of their houses, things not so transitory, or so prejudicial to health, and to business, as the constant excesses and luxury of tables; nor perhaps altogether so vain as the extravagant expences of cloaths and attendance; at least, these end wholly in a man's self, and the satisfaction of his personal humour; whereas the other make not only the riches of a family, but contribute much towards the public beauty and honour of a country.

The order, in casting up their expences, is so great and general, that no man offers at any undertaking which he is not prepared for, and master of his design, before he begins; so as I have neither observed nor heard of any building, public or private, that has not been finished in the time designed for it. So are their canals, cawseys, and bridges; so was their way from the *Hague* to *Skeveling*, a work that might have become the old *Romans*, considering how soon it was dispatched. The house at the *Hague*, built purposely for casting of cannon, was finished in one summer, during the heat of the first *English* war, and looked rather like a design of vanity in their government, than necessity or use. The stadthouse of *Amsterdam* has been left purposely to time, without any limitation in the first design, either of that, or of expence; both that the diligence and the genius of so many succeeding Magistrates, should be employed in the collection of all things, that could be esteemed proper to increase the beauty or magnificence of that structure; and perhaps a little to reprieve the experiment of a current prediction, That the trade of that city should begin

gin to fall, the same year the stadthouse should be finished, as it did at *Antwerp*.

Charity seems to be very national among them, tho' it be regulated by orders of the country, and not usually moved by the common objects of compassion. But it is seen in the admirable provisions that are made out of it for all sorts of persons that can want, or ought to be kept in a government. Among the many and various hospitals, that are in every man's curiosity and talk that travels their country, I was affected with none more than that of the aged seamen at *Enchuyzen*, which is contrived, finished, and ordered, as if it were done with a kind intention of some well-natured man, that those, who had passed their whole lives in the hardships and incommodities of the sea, should find a retreat stored with all the eases and conveniencies, that old age is capable of feeling and enjoying. And here I met with the only rich man, that I ever saw in my life: for one of these old seamen entertaining me a good while with the plain stories of his fifty years voyages and adventures, while I was viewing their hospital, and the church adjoining; I gave him at parting, a piece of their coin about the value of a crown: he took it smiling, and offered it me again; but when I refused it, he asked me, What he should do with money? for all, that ever they wanted, was provided for them at their house. I left him to overcome his modesty as he could; but a servant, coming after me, saw him give it to a little girl that opened the church-door, as she passed by him: which made me reflect upon the fantastic calculation of riches and poverty that is current in the world, by which a man, that wants a million, is a Prince; he, that wants but a groat, is a beggar; and this was a poor man, that wanted nothing at all.

In general, all appetites and passions seem to run lower and cooler here, than in other countries where I have conversed.

converted. Avarice may be excepted. And yet that shall not be so violent, where it feeds only upon industry and parsimony, as where it breaks out into fraud, rapine, and oppression. But quarrels are seldom seen among them, unless in their drink, revenge rarely heard of, or jealousy known. Their tempers are not airy enough for joy, or any unusual strains of pleasant humour, nor warm enough for love. This is talked of sometimes among the younger men, but as a thing they have heard of, rather than felt; and as a discourse that becomes them, rather than affects them. I have known some among them, that personated lovers well enough; but none that I ever thought were at heart in love; nor any of the women, that seemed at all to care whether they were so or no. Whether it be, that they are such lovers of their liberty, as not to bear the servitude of a mistress, any more than that of a master; or, that the dulness of their air renders them less susceptible of more refined passions; or, that they are diverted from it by the general intention every man has upon his business, whatever it is (nothing being so mortal an enemy of love, that suffers no rival, as any bent of thought another way.)

The same causes may have had the same effects among their married women, who have the whole care and absolute management of all their domestic; and live with very general good fame: a certain sort of chastity being hereditary and habitual among them, as probity among the men.

The same dullness of air may dispose them to that strange assiduity and constant application of their minds, with that perpetual study and labour upon any thing they design and take in hand. This gives them patience to pursue the quest of riches by so long voyages and adventures to the *Indies*, and by so long parsimony as that of their whole lives. Nay, I have (for a more particular example of this disposition among them)

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known

known one man that was employed four and twenty years about the making and perfecting of a globe, and another above thirty about the inlaying of a table. Nor does any man know, how much may have been contributed towards the great things in all kinds, both public and private, that have been atchieved among them, by this one humour of never giving over what they imagine may be brought to pass, nor leaving one scent to follow another they meet with; which is the property of the lighter and more ingenious nations: and the humour of a government being usually the same with that of the persons that compose it, not only in this, but in all other points; so as, where men that govern are wise, good, steady, and just, the government will appear so too; and the contrary, where they are otherwise.

The same qualities in their air may incline them to the entertainments and customs of drinking, which are so much laid to their charge, and, for aught I know, may not only be necessary to their health (as they generally believe it) but to the vigour and improvement of their understandings, in the midst of a thick foggy air, and so much coldness of temper and complexion. For though the use or excess of drinking may destroy men's abilities who live in better climates, and are of warmer constitutions; wine to hot brains being like oil to fire, and making the spirits, by too much lightness, evaporate into smoke, and perfect airy imaginations; or, by too much heat, rage into frenzy, or at least into humours and thoughts that have a great mixture of it; yet on the other side, it may improve men's parts and abilities of cold complexions, and in dull air; and may be necessary to thaw and move the frozen and unactive spirits of the brain; to rouse sleepy thought, and refine grosser imaginations, and perhaps to animate the spirits of the heart, as well as enliven those of the brain: therefore the old *Germans* seemed

to have some reason in their custom, not to execute any great resolutions which had not been twice debated and agreed at two several assemblies, one in an afternoon, and t'other in a morning; because, they thought, their counsels might want vigour when they were sober, as well as caution when they had drunk.

Yet, in *Holland*, I have observed very few of their chief officers or Ministers of State vicious in this kind; or, if they drank much, it was at set feasts, and rather to acquit themselves, than of choice or inclination: and for the merchants and traders, with whom it is customary, they never do it in a morning, nor till they come from the Exchange, where the business of the day is commonly dispatched; nay, it hardly enters into their heads, that 'tis lawful to drink at all before that time; but they will excuse it, if you come to their house, and tell you, how sorry they are you come in a morning, when they cannot offer you to drink; as if at that time of day it were not only unlawful for them to drink themselves, but so much as for a stranger to do it within their walls.

The afternoon, or, at least, the evening, is given to whatever they find will divert them; and is no more than needs, considering how they spend the rest of the day, in thought, or in cares; in toils, or in business. For nature cannot hold out with constant labour of the body, and as little with constant bent or application of mind: much motion of the same parts of the brain either wearies and wastes them too fast for repair, or else (as it were) fires the wheels, and so ends either in general decays of the body, or distractions of the mind: (for these are usually occasioned by perpetual motions of thought about some one object; whether it be about one's self in excesses of pride, or about another in those of love, or of grief.) Therefore none are so excusable as men of much care and thought, or of great business, for giving up their times of leisure

sure to any pleasures or diversions that offend no laws, nor hurt others or themselves: and this seems the reason, that, in all civil constitutions, not only honours, but riches, are annexed to the charges of those who govern, and upon whom the public cares are meant to be devolved; not only, that they may not be distracted from these, by the cares of their own domestic or private interests; but that, by the help of esteem, and of riches, they may have those pleasures and diversions in their reach, which idle men neither need nor deserve, but which are necessary for their refreshment, or repair of spirits, exhausted with cares, and with toil, and which serve to sweeten and preserve those lives that would otherwise wear out too fast, or grow too uneasy in the service of the public.

The two characters that are left by the old *Roman* writers, of the ancient *Batavi* * or *Hollanders*, are; that they were both the bravest among the *German* nations, and the most obstinate lovers and defenders of their liberties; which made them exempted from all tribute by the *Romans*, who desired only soldiers of their nation, to make up some of their auxiliary bands, as they did in former ages of those nations in *Italy* that were their friends, and allies. The last disposition seems to have continued constant and national among them, ever since that time, and never to have more appeared, than in the rise and constitutions of their present State. It does not seem to be so of the first, or that the people in general can be said now to be valiant; a quality, of old, so national among them, and which, by the several wars of the Counts of *Holland*, (especially with the *Frizons*) and
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* Queruntur (Fabii Valentis) legiones, orbari se fortissimorum virorum auxilio, veteres illos et tot bellorum auctores non abrumpendos ut corpori validissimos artus. TACIT. hist.

Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui Batavi non multum ex ripa sed insulam Rhæni amnis colunt. TACIT. de mor. Ger.

by the desperate defences made against the *Spaniards*, by this people, in the beginnings of their State, should seem to have lasted long, and to have but lately decayed: that is, since the whole application of their natives has been turned to commerce and trade, and the vein of their domestic lives so much to parsimony (by circumstances which will be the subject of another chapter;) and since the main of all their forces, and body of their army has been composed, and continually supplied out of their neighbour-nations.

For soldiers and merchants are not found, by experience, to be more incompatible in their abode, than the dispositions and customs seem to be different, that render a people fit for trade, and for war. The soldier thinks of a short life, and a merry. The trader thinks upon a long, and a painful. One intends to make his fortunes suddenly by his courage, by victory and spoil: the t'other slower, but surer, by craft, by treaty, and by industry. This makes the first franc and generous, and throw away, upon his pleasures, what has been gotten in one danger, and may either be lost, or repaired in the next. The other, wary and frugal, and loth to part with, in a day, what he has been labouring for a year, and has no hopes to recover, but by the same paces of diligence and time. One aims only to preserve what he has, as the fruit of his father's pains; or what he shall get, as the fruit of his own: t'other thinks the price of a little blood is more than of a great deal of sweat: and means to live upon other men's labours, and possess, in an hour, what they have been years in acquiring: this makes one love to live under stanch orders and laws; while t'other would have all depend upon arbitrary power and will. The trader reckons upon growing richer, and by his account better, the longer he lives; which makes him careful of his health, and his life, and so apt to be orderly and temperate in his diet; while the
soldier

soldier is thoughtless, or prodigal of both; and having not his meat ready at hours, or when he has a mind to it, eats full and greedily, whenever he gets it, and perhaps difference of diet may make greater difference in men's natural courage, than is commonly thought of.

For courage may proceed, in some measure, from the temper of air, may be formed by discipline, and acquired by use, or infused by opinion; but that which is more natural, and so more national in some countries than in others, seems to arise from the heat or strength of spirits about the heart, which may a great deal depend upon the measures and the substance of the food men are used to. This made a great physician among us say, he would make any man a coward with six weeks dieting; and Prince *Maurice* of *Orange* call for the *English* that were newly come over, and had (as he said) their own beef in their bellies, for any bold and desperate action. This may be one reason, why the gentry, in all places of the world, are braver than the peasantry, whose hearts are depressed, not only by slavery, but by short and heartless food, the effect of their poverty. This is a cause, why the yeomanry and commonalty of *England* are generally braver than in other countries, because by the plenty and constitutions of the kingdom they are so much easier in their rents and their taxes, and fare so much better and fuller than those of their rank in any other nation. Their chief, and, indeed, constant food, being of flesh: and among all creatures, both the birds and the beasts, we shall still find those, that feed upon flesh, to be the fierce and the bold; and on the contrary, the fearful and faint-hearted to feed upon grass, and upon plants. I think, there can be pretended but two exceptions to this rule, which are the cock and the horse; whereas the courage of the one is noted no where but in *England*, and there only in certain races:

aces: and for the other, all the courage we commend in them is, the want of fear; and they are observed to grow much fiercer, whenever by custom, or necessity, they have been used to flesh.

From all this may be inferred, that not only the long disuse of arms among the native *Hollanders*, (especially at land) and making use of other nations chiefly in their milice: but the arts of trade, as well as peace, and their great parsimony in diet, and eating so very little flesh (which the common people seldom do above once a week) may have helped to debase much the ancient valour of the nation, at least, in the occasions of service at land. Their seamen are much better, but not so good as those of *Zealand*, who are generally brave; which, I suppose, comes by these having upon all occasions turned so much more to privateering, and men of war; and those of *Holland* being generally employed in trading and merchant-ships; while their men of war are manned by mariners of all nations, who are very numerous among them, but especially those of the *Eastland* coasts of *Germany*, *Swedens*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*.

'Tis odd, that veins of courage should seem to run like veins of good earth in a country, and yet not only those of the Province of *Hainault*, among the *Spanish*, and of *Gelderland* among the *United Provinces*, are esteemed better soldiers than the rest: but the burghers of *Valenciennes* among the towns of *Flanders*, and of *Nimeguen* among those of the *Lower-Gelder*, are observed to be particularly brave. But there may be firmness and constancy of courage from tradition, as well as from belief: nor methinks should any man know how to be a coward, that is brought up with the opinion, That all his nation or city have ever been valiant.

I can say nothing of what is usually laid to their charge, about their being cruel, besides what we have

so often heard of their barbarous usage to some of our men in the *East-Indies*, and what we have so lately seen of their savage murder of their Pensioner *De Wit*; a person that deserved another fate; and a better return from his country, after eighteen years spent in their ministry, without any care of his entertainments or ease, and a little of his fortune. A man of unwearyed industry, inflexible constancy, sound, clear, and deep understanding, with untainted integrity; so that whenever he was blinded, it was by the passion he had for that which he esteemed the good and interest of his state. This testimony is justly due to him from all that practised him; and is the more willingly paid, since there can be as little interest to flatter, as honour to reproach the dead. But this action of that people may be attributed to the misfortune of their country; and is so unlike the appearance of their customs and dispositions, living, as I saw them, under the laws and orders of a quiet and settled state; and one must confess mankind to be a very various creature, and none to be known, that has not been seen in his rage, as well as his drink.

They are generally not so long-lived, as in better airs; and begin to decay early, both men and women; especially at *Amsterdam*: for at the *Hague*, (which is their best air) I have known two considerable men a good deal above seventy, and one of them in very good sense and health: but this is not so usual as it is in *England*, and in *Spain*. The diseases of the climate seem to be chiefly the gout and the scurvy; but all hot and dry summers bring some that are infectious among them, especially into *Amsterdam* and *Leyden*: these are usually fevers, and lie most in the head, and either kill suddenly, or languish long before they recover. Plagues are not so frequent, at least not in a degree to be taken notice of, for all suppress the talk of them as much as they can, and no distinction is made in the

registry

registry of the dead, nor much in the care and attendance of the sick: whether from a belief of predestination, or else a preference of trade, which is the life of the country, before that of particular men.

Strangers among them are apt to complain of the spleen, but those of the country seldom or never: which I take to proceed from their being ever busy, or easily satisfied. For this seems to be the disease of people that are idle, or think themselves but ill entertained, and attribute every fit of dull humour, or imagination, to a formal disease, which they have found this name for; whereas, such fits are incident to all men, at one time or other, from the fumes of indigestion, from the common alterations of some insensible degrees in health and vigour*; or from some changes or approaches of change in winds and weather, which affect the finer spirits of the brain, before they grow sensible to other parts; and are apt to alter the shapes, or colours, of whatever is represented to us by our imaginations, whilst we are so affected. Yet this effect is not so strong, but that business, or intention of thought, commonly either resists, or diverts it: and those, who understand the motions of it, let it pass, and return to themselves. But such as are idle, or know not from whence these changes arise, and trouble their heads with notions or schemes of general happiness or unhappiness in life, upon every such fit, begin reflexions on the condition of their bodies, their souls, or their fortunes; and (as all things are then represented in the worst colours) they fall into

O

melancholy

*—Ubi tempestas et coeli mobilis humor
 Mutavere vias; et *Jupiter* humidus austris
 Densat, erant quae rara modo, et quae densa relaxat;
 Vertuntur species animorum, et pectora motus
 Nunc alios, alios, dum nubila ventus agebat,
 Concipiunt: hinc ille avium concentus in agris,
 Et laetae pecudes, et ovantes gutture corvi.

VIRG. Georg.

melancholy apprehensions of one or other, and sometimes of them all: these make a deep impression on their minds, and are not easily worn out by the natural returns of good humour, especially if they are often interrupted by the contrary; as happens in some particular constitutions, and more generally in uncertain climates, especially if improved by accidents of ill health, or ill fortune. But this is a disease too refined for this country and people, who are well, when they are not ill; and pleased, when they are not troubled; are content, because they think little of it; and seek their happiness in the common ease and commodities of life, or the increase of riches; not amusing themselves with the more speculative contrivance of passion, or refinements of pleasure.

To conclude this chapter, *Holland* is a country, where the earth is better than the air, and profit more in request than honour; where there is more sense than wit; more good nature than good humour; and more wealth than pleasure: where a man would choose rather to travel than to live; shall find more things to observe than desire; and more persons to esteem than to love. But the same qualities and dispositions do not value a private man and a state, nor make a conversation agreeable, and a government great: nor is it unlikely, that some very great King might make but a very ordinary private gentleman, and some very extraordinary gentleman might be capable of making but a very mean Prince.

CHAP. V.

Of their RELIGION.

I Intend not here to speak of religion at all as a divine, but as a mere secular man, when I observe the

the occasions that seem to have established it in the forms, or with the liberties, wherewith it is now attended in the *United Provinces*. I believe the reformed religion was introduced there, as well as in *England*, and the many other countries where it is professed, by the operation of divine will and providence; and, by the same, I believe the *Roman Catholic* was continued in *France*: where it seemed, by the conspiring of so many accidents, in the beginning of *Charles the IX's* reign, to be so near a change. And whoever doubts this, seems to question not only the will, but the power of God. Nor will it at all derogate from the honour of a religion, to have been planted in a country, by secular means, or civil revolutions, which have, long since, succeeded to those miraculous operations that made way for christianity in the world. 'Tis enough, that God Almighty infuses belief into the hearts of men, or else ordains it to grow out of religious inquiries and instructions; and that where-ever the generality of a nation come by these means to be of a belief, it is by the force of this concurrence introduced into the government, and becomes the established religion of that country. So was the reformed profession introduced into *England*, *Scotland*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, and many parts of *Germany*. So was the *Roman-Catholic* restored in *France* and in *Flanders*; where, notwithstanding the great concussions that were made in the government by the *Hugonots* and the *Gueuses*, yet they were never esteemed, in either of those countries, to amount further than the seventh or eighth part of the people. And whosoever designs the change of religion in a country or government, by any other means than that of a general conversion of the people, or the greatest part of them, designs all the mischiefs to a nation, that use to usher in, or attend, the two greatest distempers of a State, civil war, or tyranny; which are violence, oppression, cruelty, rapine, intemperance, injustice; and
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in short, the miserable effusion of human blood, and the confusion of all laws, orders, and virtues among men,

Such consequences as these, I doubt, are something more than the disputed opinions of any man, or any particular assembly of men, can be worth; since the great and general end of all religion, next to men's happiness hereafter, is their happiness here; as appears by the commandments of God, being the best and greatest moral and civil, as well as divine, precepts, that have been given to a nation; and by the rewards proposed to the piety of the *Jews*, throughout the Old Testament, which were the blessings of this life, as health, length of age, number of children, plenty, peace, or victory.

Now the way to our future happiness has been perpetually disputed throughout the world, and must be left at last to the impressions made upon every man's belief and conscience, either by natural or supernatural arguments and means; which impressions, men may disguise or dissemble, but no man can resist. For belief is no more in a man's power, than his stature, or his feature; and he that tells me, I must change my opinion for his, because 'tis the truer and the better, without other arguments, that have to me the force of conviction; may as well tell me, I must change my grey eyes, for others like his that are black, because these are lovelier, or more in esteem. He that tells me I must inform myself, has reason, if I do it not: but if I endeavour it all that I can, and perhaps more than he ever did, and yet still differ from him; and he, that, it may be, is idle, will have me study on, and inform myself better, and so to the end of my life, then I easily understand what he means by informing, which is, in short, that I must do it, till I come to be of his opinion.

If he, that, perhaps, pursues his pleasures or interests, as much, or more, than I do; and allows me

to have as good sense, as he has in all other matters, tells me, I should be of his opinion, but that passion or interest blinds me; unless he can convince me how, or where, this lies, he is but where he was, only pretends to know me better than I do myself, who cannot imagine, why I should not have as much care of my soul, as he has of his.

A man that tells me, my opinions are absurd or ridiculous, impertinent or unreasonable, because they differ from his, seems to intend a quarrel instead of a dispute; and calls me fool or mad-man, with a little more circumstance; though, perhaps, I pass for one as well in my senses as he, as pertinent in talk, and as prudent in life: yet these are the common civilities, in religious argument, of sufficient and conceited men, who talk much of right reason, and mean always their own; and make their private imagination the measure of general truth. But such language determines all between us, and the dispute comes to end in three words at last, which it might as well have ended in at first, That he is in the right, and I am in the wrong.

The other great end of religion, which is our happiness here, has been generally agreed on by all mankind, as appears in the records of all their laws, as well as all their religions, which come to be established by the concurrence of men's customs and opinions*; though in the latter, that concurrence may have been produced by divine impressions or inspirations. For all agree in teaching and commanding, in planting and improving, not only those moral virtues, which conduce to the felicity and tranquillity of every private man's life, but also those manners and dispositions that tend to the peace, order, and safety of all civil societies and governments among men.

Not

* *Fiunt diversae respublicae ex civium moribus, qui, quocunque fluxerint, caetera secum rapiunt.*
PLAT. de Rep.

Nor could I ever understand, how those who call themselves, and the world usually calls *religious men*, come to put so great weight upon those points of belief which men never have agreed in, and so little upon those of virtue and morality, in which they have hardly ever disagreed. Nor, why a State should venture the subversion of their peace, and their order, which are certain goods, and so universally esteemed, for the propagation of uncertain or contested opinions.

One of the great causes of the first revolt in the *Low-Countries* appeared to be, the oppression of men's consciences, or persecution in their liberties, their estates and their lives, upon pretence of religion. And this at a time, when there seemed to be a conspiring disposition in most countries of Christendom, to seek the reformation of some abuses, grown in the doctrine and discipline of the Church, either by the rust of time, by negligence, or by human inventions, passions, and interests. The rigid opposition, given at *Rome* to this general humour, was followed by a defection of mighty numbers in all those several countries, who professed to reform themselves, according to such rules as they thought were necessary for the reformation of the Church. These persons, though they agreed in the main of disowning the Papal power, and reducing belief from the authority of tradition to that of the Scripture; yet they differed much among themselves in other circumstances, especially of discipline, according to the persuasions and impressions of the leading Doctors in their several countries. So the reformed of *France* became universally *Calvinists*; but for those of *Germany*, though they were generally *Lutherans*, yet there was a great mixture both of *Calvinists* and *Anabaptists* among them.

The first persecutions of these reformed arose in *Germany*, in the time of *Charles V.* and drove great numbers of them down into the Seventeen Provinces, especially

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especially *Holland* and *Brabant*, where the privileges of the cities were greater, and the Emperor's government was less severe, as among the subjects of his own native countries. This was the occasion, that in the year 1566, when, upon the first insurrection in *Flanders*, those of the reformed profession began to form consistories, and levy contributions among themselves, for support of their common cause; it was resolved, upon consultation, among the heads of them, that for declining all differences among themselves, at a time of common exigence, the public profession of their party should be that of the *Lutherans*, though with liberty and indulgence to those of different opinions. By the union of *Utrecht*, concluded in 1579, each of the Provinces was left to order the matter of religion, as they thought fit and most conducing to the welfare of their Province; with this provision, that every man should remain free in his religion, and none be examined or entrapped for that cause, according to the pacification at *Gant*. But in the year 1583, it was enacted by general agreement, that the Evangelical religion should be only professed in all the Seven Provinces: which came thereby to be the established religion of this State.

The reasons which seemed to induce them to this settlement, were many, and of weight: as first, because by the persecutions arrived in *France*, (where all the reformed were *Calvinists*) multitudes of people had retired out of that kingdom into the *Low-Countries*: and by the great commerce and continual intercourse with *England*, where the reformation agreed much with the *Calvinists* in point of doctrine, though more with the *Lutherans* in point of discipline, those opinions came to be credited and propagated more than any other, among the people of these Provinces, so as the numbers were grown to be greater far in the cities of this than of any other profession. Secondly, the suc-

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cours and supplies both of men and money, by which the weak beginnings of this commonwealth were preserved and fortified, came chiefly from *England*, from the Protestants of *France* (when their affairs were successful) and from the *Calvinist* Princes in *Germany*, who lay nearest, and were readiest to relieve them. In the next place, because those of this profession seemed the most contrary and violent against the *Spaniards*, who made themselves heads of the *Roman Catholics* throughout Christendom; and the hatred of *Spain*, and their dominion, was so rooted in the hearts of this people, that it had influence upon them in the very choice of their religion. And lastly, because, by this profession, all rights and jurisdiction of the Clergy or Hierarchy being suppressed, there was no ecclesiastical authority left to rise up, and trouble or fetter the civil power; and all the goods and possessions of churches and abbies were seized wholly into the hands of the State, which made a great increase of the public revenue, a thing the most necessary for the support of their government.

There might perhaps be added one reason more, which was particular to one of the Provinces: for, whereas in most, if not all, other parts of Christendom, the Clergy composed one of the three Estates of the country, and thereby shared with the Nobles and Commons in their influences upon the government, that order never made any part of the Estates in *Holland*, nor had any vote in their assembly, which consisted only of the Nobles and the cities; and this Province, bearing always the greatest sway in the councils of the unions was most inclined to the settlement of that profession which gave least pretence of power or jurisdiction to the Clergy, and so agreed most with their own ancient constitutions.

Since this establishment, as well as before, the great care of this State has ever been, to favour no particular or curious inquisition into the faith or religious principles

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clips of any peaceable man, who came to live under the protection of their laws, and to suffer no violence or oppression upon any man's conscience, whose opinions broke not out into expressions or actions of ill consequence to the State. A free form of government, either making way for more freedom in religion, or else, having newly contended so far themselves for liberty in this point, they thought it the more unreasonable for them to oppress others. Perhaps, while they were so threatened and endangered by foreign armies, they thought it the more necessary to provide against dissensions within, which can never be dangerous, where they are not grounded or fathered upon oppression, in point either of religion or liberty. But in those two cases, the flame often proves most violent in a State, the more 'tis shut up, or the longer concealed.

The *Roman Catholic* religion was alone excepted from the common protection of their laws, making men (as the States believed) worse subjects than the rest, by the acknowledgment of a foreign and superior jurisdiction; for so must all spiritual power needs be, as grounded upon greater hopes and fears than any civil, at least, where-ever the persuasions from faith are as strong as those from sense; of which there are so many testimonies recorded by the martyrdoms, penances, or conscientious restraints and severities, suffered by infinite persons in all sorts of religions.

Besides, this profession seemed still a retainer of the *Spanish* government, which was then the great patron of it in the world: yet, such was the care of this State, to give all men ease in this point, who ask no more than to serve God, and save their own souls, in their own way and forms; that what was not provided for, by the constitutions of their government, was so, in a very great degree, by the connivance of their officers, who, upon certain constant payments from every family, suffer the exercise of the *Roman-Catholic* religion in
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their feveral jurisdictions, as free and easy, though not so cheap, and so avowed, as the rest. This, I suppose, has been the reason, that though those of this profession are very numerous in that country, among the peasants, and considerable in the cities, and not admitted to any public charges; yet they seem to be a sound piece of the State, and fast jointed in with the rest; and have neither given any disturbance to the government, nor expressed any inclinations to a change, or to any foreign power, either upon the former wars with *Spain*, or the later invasions of the Bishop of *Munster*.

Of all other religions, every man enjoys the free exercise in his own chamber, or his own house, unquestioned and unespied: and if the followers of any sect grow so numerous in any place, that they affect a public congregation, and are content to purchase a place of assembly, to bear the charge of a pastor or teacher, and to pay for this liberty to the public; they go and propose their desire to the Magistrates of the place where they reside, who inform themselves of their opinions, and manners of worship; and if they find nothing in either, destructive to civil society, or prejudicial to the constitutions of their State, and content themselves with the price that is offered for the purchase of this liberty, they easily allow it: but with the condition, that one or more Commissioners shall be appointed, who shall have free admission at all their meetings, shall be both the observers and witnesses of all that is acted or preached among them, and whose testimony shall be received concerning any thing that passes there to the prejudice of the State: in which case, the laws and executions are as severe as against any civil crimes.

Thus the *Jews* have their allowed Synagogues in *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*: and in the first, almost all sects, that are known among Christians, have their public

public meeting places; and some whose names are almost worn out in all other parts, as the *Brownists*, *Familists*, and others: the *Arminians*, though they make a great name among them, by being rather the distinction of a party in the State; than a sect in the Church; yet are, in comparison of others, but few in number, though considerable by the persons, who are of the better quality, the more learned and intelligent men, and many of them in the government. The *Anabaptists* are just the contrary, very numerous, but in the lower ranks of people, mechanics and seamen, and abound chiefly in *North-Holland*.

The *Calvinists* make the body of the people, and are possessed of all the public churches in the dominions of the State, as well as of the only Ministers or pastors, who are maintained by the public; but these have neither lands, nor tithes, nor any authorized contributions from the people, but certain salaries from the State, upon whom they wholly depend: and though they are often very bold in taxing and preaching publicly against the vices, and sometimes the innocent entertainments, of persons most considerable in the government, as well as of the vulgar; yet they are never heard to censure or controul the public actions or resolutions of the State: they are, in general, throughout the country, passionate friends to the interests of the house of *Orange*; and, during the intermission of that authority, found ways of expressing their affections to the person and fortunes of this Prince, without offending the State, as it was then constituted. They are fierce enemies of the *Arminian* party, whose principles were thought to lead them, in *Barnevelt's* time, towards a conjunction, or at least compliance, with the *Spanish* religion and government, both which the house of *Orange*, in the whole course of the war, endeavoured to make irreconcilable with those of the State.

It is hardly to be imagined, how all the violence and sharpness, which accompanies the differences of religions in other countries, seems to be appeased or softened here, by the general freedom which all men enjoy, either by allowance or connivance; nor, how faction and ambition are thereby disabled to colour their interested and seditious designs with the pretences of religion, which has cost the Christian world so much blood for these last hundred and fifty years. No man can here complain of pressure in his conscience: of being forced to any public profession of his private faith: of being restrained from his own manner of worship in his house, or obliged to any other abroad: and whoever asks more in point of religion, without the undisputed evidence of a particular mission from heaven, may be justly suspected not to ask for God's sake, but for his own: since pretending to sovereignty, instead of liberty, in opinion, is indeed pretending the same in authority too, which consists chiefly in opinion: and what man, or party soever, can gain the common and firm belief, of being most immediately inspired, instructed, or favoured of God, will easily obtain the prerogative of being most honoured and obeyed by men.

But in this commonwealth, no man having any reason to complain of oppression in conscience, and no man having hopes, by advancing his religion, to form a party, or break in upon the State, the differences in opinion make none in affections, and little in conversation, where it serves but for entertainment and variety. They argue without interest or anger; they differ without enmity or scorn; and they agree without confederacy. Men live together, like citizens of the world, associated by the common ties of humanity, and by the bonds of peace, under the impartial protection of indifferent laws, with equal encouragement of all art and industry, and equal freedom of speculation and

and inquiry; all men enjoying their imaginary excellencies and acquisitions of knowledge, with as much safety as their more real possessions and improvements of fortune. The power of religion among them, where it is, lies in every man's heart. The appearance of it is but like a piece of humanity, by which every one falls most into the company or conversation of those, whose customs or humours, whose talk and dispositions he likes best: and as, in other places, 'tis in every man's choice with whom he will eat or lodge, with whom go to market, or to court; so it seems to be here, with whom he will pray, or go to church, or associate in the service and worship of God: nor is any more notice taken, or more censure passed, of what every one chooses in these cases, than in the other.

I believe the force of commerce, alliances, and acquaintances, spreading so far as they do in small circuits (such as the Province of *Holland*) may contribute much to make conversation, and all the offices of common life, so easy, among so different opinions, of which so many several persons are often in every man's eye; and no man checks or takes offence at faces, or customs, or ceremonies, he sees every day, as at those he hears of in places far distant, and perhaps by partial relations, and comes to see late in his life, and after he has long been possessed by passion or prejudice against them. However it is, religion may possibly do more good in other places, but it does less hurt here: and where-ever the invisible effects of it are the greatest and most advantageous, I am sure the visible are so in this country, by the continual and undisturbed civil peace of their government for so long a course of years; and by so mighty an increase of their people, wherein will appear to consist chiefly the vast growth of their trade and riches, and consequently the strength and greatness of their State.

CHAP. VI,

Of their TRADE,

TIS evident to those, who have read the most, and travelled farthest, that no country can be found either in this present age, or upon record of any story, where so vast a trade has been managed, as in the narrow compass of the four maritime Provinces of this commonwealth: nay, it is generally esteemed, that they have more shipping belongs to them, than there does to all the rest of *Europe*. Yet they have no native commodities towards the building or rigging of the smallest vessel; their flax, hemp, pitch, wood, and iron, coming all from abroad, as wool does for clothing their men, and corn for feeding them. Nor do I know any thing properly of their own growth, that is considerable either for their own necessary use, or for trafic with their neighbours, besides butter, cheese, and earthen-wares. For havens, they have not any good upon their whole coast: the best at *Helvoetsluis*, which has no trade at all; and *Flushing*, which has little, in comparison of other towns in *Holland*: but *Amsterdam*, that triumphs in the spoils of *Lisbon* and *Antwerp*, (which before engrossed the greatest trade of *Europe* and the *Indies*) seems to be the most incommo-
dious haven they have, being seated upon so shallow waters, that ordinary ships cannot come up to it without the advantage of tides; nor great ones without unlading. The entrance of the *Tessel*, and passage over the *Zudder-sea*, is more dangerous than a voyage from thence to *Spain*, lying all in blind and narrow channels; so that it easily appears, that 'tis not an haven that draws trade, but trade that fills an haven,
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and brings it in vogue. Nor has *Holland* grown rich by any native commodities, but by force of industry; by improvement and manufacture of all foreign growths; by being the general magazine of *Europe*, and furnishing all parts with whatever the market wants or invites; and by their seamen being, as they have properly been called, the common carriers of the world.

Since the ground of trade cannot be deduced from havens, or native commodities (as may well be concluded from the survey of *Holland*, which has the least and the worst; and of *Ireland*, which has the most and the best, of both) it were not amiss to consider, from what other source it may be more naturally and certainly derived: for if we talk of industry, we are still as much to seek, what it is that makes people industrious in one country, and idle in another. I conceive the true original and grounds of trade to be, great multitude of people crowded into small compass of land, whereby all things necessary to life become dear, and all men, who have possessions, are induced to parsimony; but those, who have none, are forced to industry and labour, or else to want. Bodies, that are vigorous, fall to labour; such, as are not, supply that defect by some sort of inventions or ingenuity. These customs arise first from necessity, but increase by imitation, and grow in time to be habitual in a country; and where-ever they are so, if it lies upon the sea, they naturally break out into trade, both because, whatever they want of their own, that is necessary to so many men's lives, must be supplied from abroad; and because, by the multitude of people, and smallness of country, land grows so dear, that the improvement of money, that way, is inconsiderable, and so turns to sea, where the greatness of the profit makes amends for the venture.

This cannot be better illustrated, than by its contrary, which appears no where more than in *Ireland*,
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where, by the largeness and plenty of the food, and scarcity of people, all things necessary to life are so cheap, that an industrious man, by two days labour, may gain enough to feed him the rest of the week; which I take to be a very plain ground of the laziness attributed to the people: for men naturally prefer ease before labour, and will not take pains, if they can live idle: though when, by necessity, they have been inured to it, they cannot leave it, being grown a custom necessary to their health, and to their very entertainment: nor perhaps is the change harder, from constant ease to labour, than from constant labour to ease.

This account of the original of trade agrees with the experience of all ages, and with the constitutions of all places, where it has most flourished in the world, as *Tyre, Carthage, Athens, Syracuse, Agrigentum, Rhodes, Venice, Holland*; and will be so obvious to every man, that knows and considers the situation, the extent and the nature, of all those countries, that it will need no enlargement upon the comparisons.

By these examples, which are all of commonwealths, and by the decay and dissolution of trade in the six first, when they came to be conquered, or subjected to arbitrary dominions, it might be concluded, that there is something, in that form of government, proper and natural to trade, in a more peculiar manner. But the height it arrived to at *Bruges* and *Antwerp*, under their Princes, for four or five descents of the house of *Burgundy*, and two of *Austria*, shews, it may thrive under good Princes and legal monarchies, as well as under free States. Under arbitrary and tyrannical power it must of necessity decay and dissolve, because this empties a country of people, whereas the others fill it; this extinguishes industry, whilst men are in doubt of enjoying themselves what they get, or leaving it to their children; the others encourage it, by securing men of both: one fills a country with soldiers,

diers; and the other with merchants; who were never known yet to live well together, because they cannot trust one another: and as trade cannot live without mutual trust among private men; so it cannot grow or thrive, to any great degree, without a confidence both of public and private safety, and consequently a trust in the government, from an opinion of its strength, wisdom, and justice; which must be grounded either upon the personal virtues and qualities of a Prince, or else upon the constitutions and orders of a State.

It appears to every man's eye who hath travelled *Holland*, and observed the number and vicinity of their great and populous towns and villages, with the prodigious improvement of almost every spot of ground in the country, and the great multitudes constantly employed in their shipping abroad, and their boats at home, that no other known country in the world, of the same extent, holds any proportion with this in numbers of people; and if that be the great foundation of trade, the best account that can be given of theirs, will be by considering the causes and accidents, that have served to force or invite so vast a confluence of people into their country. In the first rank may be placed the civil wars, calamities, persecutions, oppressions, or discontents, that have been so fatal to most of their neighbours, for some time before, as well as since their State began.

The persecutions for matter of religion, in *Germany* under *Charles V.* in *France* under *Henry II.* and in *England* under *Queen Mary*, forced great numbers of people out of all those countries, to shelter themselves in the several towns of the Seventeen Provinces, where the ancient liberties of the country, and privileges of the cities, had been inviolate under so long a succession of Princes, and gave protection to these oppressed strangers, who filled their cities both with people and trade, and raised *Amwerp* to such a height and renown, as

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continued till the Duke of *Alva's* arrival in the *Low Countries*. The fright of this man, and the orders he brought, and arms to execute them, began to scatter the flock of people that for some time had been nested there; so as, in very few months, above 100,000 families removed out of the country. But when the Seven Provinces united, and began to defend themselves with success, under the conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, and the countenance of *England* and *France*, and the persecutions for religion began to grow sharp in the *Spanish* provinces, all the professors of the reformed religion, and haters of the *Spanish* dominion, retired into the strong cities of this commonwealth, and gave the same date to the growth of trade there, and the decay of it at *Antwerp*.

The long civil wars, at first of *France*, then of *Germany*, and lastly of *England*, served to increase the swarm in this country, not only by such as were persecuted at home, but great numbers of peaceable men, who came here to seek for quiet in their lives, and safety in their possessions or trades; like those birds that, upon the approach of a rough winter-season, leave the countries where they were born and bred, fly away to some kinder and softer climate, and never return till the frosts are past, and the winds are laid at home.

The invitation these people had, to fix rather in *Holland* than in many better countries, seems to have been, at first, the great strength of their towns, which by their maritime situation, and the low flatness of their country, can with their sluices overflow all the ground about them at such distances, as to become inaccessible to any land forces. And this natural strength has been improved, especially at *Amsterdam*, by all the art and expence that could any ways contribute towards the defence of the place.

Next was the constitution of their government, by which, neither the States-General, nor the Prince, have

have any power to invade any man's person or property within the precincts of their cities. Nor could it be feared that the senate of any town should conspire to any such violence; nor if they did, could they possibly execute it, having no soldiers in their pay, and the burghers only being employed in the defence of their towns, and execution of all civil justice among them.

These circumstances gave so great a credit to the bank of *Amsterdam*; and that was another invitation for people to come, and lodge here what part of their money they could transport, and knew no way of securing at home. Nor did those people only lodge monies here, who came over into the country; but many more, who never left their own: though they provided for a retreat, or against a storm, and thought no place so secure as this, nor from whence they might so easily draw their money into any parts of the world.

Another circumstance was, the general liberty and ease, not only in point of conscience, but all others that serve to the commodiousness and quiet of life; every man following his own way, minding his own business, and little inquiring into other men's; which, I suppose, happened by so great a concourse of people of several nations, different religions and customs, as left nothing strange or new; and by the general humour, bent all upon industry, whereas curiosity is only proper to idle men.

Besides, it has ever been the great principle of their State, running through all their provinces and cities, even with emulation, to make their country the common refuge of all miserable men; from whose protection, hardly any alliances, treaties, or interests, have ever been able to divert or remove them. So as, during the great dependence this State had upon *France*, in the time of *Henry IV.* all the persons disgraced at that court, or banished that country, made this
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their common retreat; nor could the State ever be prevailed with, by any instances of the *French* Ambassadors, to refuse them the use and liberty of common life and air, under the protection of their government.

This firmness in the State has been one of the circumstances, that has invited so many unhappy men out of all their neighbourhood, and indeed from most parts of *Europe*, to shelter themselves from the blows of justice, or of fortune. Nor indeed does any country seem so proper to be made use of upon such occasions, not only in respect of safety, but as a place that holds so constant and easy correspondencies with all parts of the world, and whether any man may draw whatever money he has at his disposal in any other place; where neither riches expose men to danger, nor poverty to contempt: but on the contrary, where parsimony is honourable, whether it be necessary or no; and he, that is forced by his fortune to live low, may here alone live in fashion, and upon equal terms (in appearance abroad) with the chiefest of their Ministers, and richest of their merchants: nor is it easily imagined, how great an effect this constitution among them may, in course of time, have had upon the increase both of their people and their trade.

As the two first invitations of people into this country were the strength of their towns, and nature of their government; so two others have grown with the course of time, and progress of their riches and power. One is the reputation of their government, arising from the observation of the success of their arms, the prudence of their negotiations, the steadiness of their counsels, the constancy of their peace and quiet at home, and the consideration they hereby arrived at among the Princes and States of Christendom. From all these, men grew to a general opinion of the wisdom and conduct of their State; and of its being established upon foundations that could not be shaken by any common accidents,

accidents, nor consequently in danger of any great or sudden revolutions; and this is a mighty inducement to industrious people to come and inhabit a country, who seek not only safety under laws from justice and oppression, but likewise under the strength and good conduct of a State, from the violence of foreign invasions, or of civil commotions.

The other is, the great beauty of their country (forced in time, and by the improvements of industry, in spite of nature) which draws every day such numbers of curious and idle persons to see their Provinces, though not to inhabit them. And indeed their country is a much better mistress than a wife, and where few persons, who are well at home, would be content to live; but where none, that have time and money to spare, would not for once be willing to travel; and as *England* shews, in the beauty of the country, what nature can arrive at; so does *Holland*, in the number, greatness, and beauty of their towns, whatever art can bring to pass. But these and many other matters of speculation among them, filling the observations of all common travellers, shall make no part of mine, whose design is rather to discover the causes of their trade and riches, than to relate the effects.

Yet it may be noted hereupon, as a piece of wisdom in any kingdom or State, by the magnificence of courts, or of public structures; by encouraging beauty in private buildings, and the adornment of towns, with pleasant and regular plantations of trees; by the celebration of some noble festivals or solemnities; by the institution of some great marts or fairs; and by the contrivance of any extraordinary and renowned spectacles, to invite and occasion, as much and as often as can be, the concourse of busy or idle people from the neighbouring or remoter nations, whose very passage and intercourse is a great increase of wealth and of trade, and a secret incentive of people to inhabit

habit a country, where men may meet with equal advantages, and more entertainments of life, than in other places. Such were the *Olympic* and other games among the *Graecians*; such the triumphs, trophies, and secular plays of old *Rome*, as well as the spectacles exhibited afterwards by the Emperors, with such stupenduous effects of art and expence, for courting or entertaining the people; such the Jubilees of new *Rome*; the jousts and tournaments formerly used in most of the courts of Christendom; the festivals of the more celebrated orders of knighthood; and in particular towns, the carnivals and fairs; the kirmishes, which run through all the cities of the *Netherlands*, and in some of them, with a great deal of pageantry, as well as traffic, being equal baits of pleasure and of gain.

Having thus discovered, what has laid the great foundations of their trade, by the multitude of the people, which has planted and habituated industry among them, and, by that, all sorts of manufacture, as well as parsimony, and thereby general wealth: I shall enumerate, very briefly, some other circumstances, that seem, next to these, the chief advancers and encouragers of trade in their country.

Low interest, and dearness of land, are effects of the multitude of people, and cause of so much money to lie ready for all projects, by which gain may be expected, as the cutting of canals, making bridges and cawseys, levelling downs, and draining marshes, besides all new essays at foreign trade, which are proposed with any probability of advantage.

The use of their banks, which secures money, and makes all payments easy, and trade quick.

The sale by registry, which was introduced here and in *Flanders* in the time of *Charles V.* and makes all purchases safe.

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The severity of justice, not only against all thefts, but all cheats, and counterfeits of any public bills, (which is capital among them) and even against all common beggars, who are disposed of either into work-houses, or hospitals, as they are able or unable to labour.

The convoys of merchant-fleets into all parts, even in time of peace, but especially into the *Straits*; which give their trade security against many unexpected accidents, and their nation credit abroad, and breeds up seamen for their ships of war.

The lowness of their customs, and easiness of paying them, which, with the freedom of their ports, invite both strangers and natives to bring commodities hither, not only as to a market, but as to a magazine, where they lodge till they are invited abroad to other and better markets.

Order and exactness in managing their trade, which brings their commodities in credit abroad. This was first introduced by severe laws and penalties, but is since grown into custom. Thus there have been above thirty several placarts about the manner of cutting, pickling, and barrelling herrings. Thus all arms, made at *Utrecht*, are forfeited, if sold without mark, or marked without trial. And I observed in their *Indian-house*, that all the pieces of scarlet, which are sent in great quantities to those parts, are marked with the *English* arms, and inscriptions in *English*; by which they maintain the credit gained to that commodity, by our former trade to parts, where 'tis now lost or decayed.

The government managed either by men that trade, or whose families have risen by it, or who have themselves some interest going in other men's traffic, or who are born and bred in towns the soul and being whereof consists wholly in trade, which makes sure of all

all favour, that, from time to time, grows necessary and can be given it by the government.

The custom of every town's affecting some particular commerce or staple, valuing itself thereupon, and so improving it to the greatest height: as *Flushing*, by that of the *West-Indies*; *Middleburgh*, of *French* wines; *Terveer*, by the *Scots* staple; *Dort*, by the *English* staple, and *Rhenish* wines; *Rotterdam*, by the *English* and *Scots* trade at large, and by *French* wines; *Leyden*, by the manufacture of all sorts of stuffs, silk, hair, gold and silver; *Haerlem*, by linen, mixt-stuffs, and flowers; *Delft*, by beer and *Dutch*-purcelane; *Surdam*, by the built of ships; *Enchuyssen* and *Mazland-sluis*, by herring fishing; *Friezland* by the *Greenland* trade; and *Amsterdam* by that of the *East-Indies*, *Spain*, and the *Straits*.

The great application of the whole Province to the fishing-trade, upon the coasts of *England* and *Scotland*, which employs an incredible number of ships and seamen, and supplies most of the Southern parts of *Europe* with a rich and necessary commodity.

The last I shall mention is, the mighty advance they have made towards engrossing the whole commerce of the *East-Indies*, by their successes against the *Portugueses*, and by their many wars and victories against the natives, whereby they have forced them to treaties of commerce, exclusive to all other nations, and to the admission of forts to be built upon straits and passes, that command the entrances into the traffic of such places. This has been atchieved by the multitude of their people and mariners, that has been able to furnish every year so many great ships for such voyages, and to supply the loss of so many lives, as the changes of climate have cost, before they learnt the method of living in them; by the vastness of the stock that has been turned wholly to that trade; and by the conduct and application of the *East-India* company, who have managed

managed it like a commonwealth, rather than a trade, and thereby raised a State in the *Indies*, governed indeed by the orders of the company, but otherwise appearing to those nations like a sovereign State, making war and peace with their greatest Kings, and able to bring to sea forty or fifty men of war, and thirty thousand men at land, by the modestest computations. The stock of this trade, besides what it turns to in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, the *Straits*, and *Germany*, makes them so great masters in the trade of the northern parts of *Europe*, as *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Pomerania*, and all the *Baltick*; where the spices, that are an *Indian* drug, and *European* luxury, command all the commodities of those countries, which are so necessary to life, as their corn; and to navigation, as hemp, pitch, masts, planks, and iron.

Thus the trade of this country is discovered to be no effect of common contrivances, of natural dispositions or situation, or of trivial accidents; but of a great concurrence of circumstances, a long course of time, force of orders and method, which never before met in the world to such a degree, or with so prodigious a success, and perhaps never will again. Having grown (to sum up all) from the situation of their country, extended upon the sea, divided by two such rivers as the *Rhine* and the *Maes*, with the vicinity of the *Ems*, *Weser*, and *Elbe*; from the confluence of people out of *Flanders*, *England*, *France*, and *Germany*; invited by the strength of their towns, and by the constitutions and credit of their government; by the liberty of conscience, and security of life and goods (subjected only to constant laws); from general industry and parsimony, occasioned by the multitude of people, and smallness of the country; from cheapness and easiness of carriage, by convenience of canals; from low use, and dearness of land, which turn money to trade; the institution of banks; sale by registry; care of convoys; smallness of customs; freedom of ports; order in trade; interest of

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persons in the government ; particular traffic affected to particular places ; application to the fishery ; and acquisitions in the *East-Indies*.

It is no constant rule, That trade makes riches ; for there may be a trade that impoverishes a nation : as it is not going often to market that enriches the country-man ; but, on the contrary, if, every time he comes there, he buys to a greater value than he sells, he grows the poorer the oftener he goes : but the only and certain scale of riches, arising from trade in a nation, is the proportion of what is exported for the consumption of others, to what is imported for their own.

The true ground of this proportion lies in the general industry and parsimony of a people, or in the contrary of both. Industry increases the native commodity, either in the product of the soil, or the manufactures of the country, which raises the stock for exportation. Parsimony lessens the consumption of their own, as well as of foreign commodities ; and not only abates the importation by the last, but increases the exportation by the first ; for, of all native commodities, the less is consumed in a country, the more is exported abroad ; there being no commodity, but, at one price or other, will find a market, which they will be masters of, who can afford it cheapest : such are always the most industrious and parsimonious people, who can thrive by prices, upon which the lazy and expensive cannot live.

The vulgar mistake, that importation of foreign wares, if purchased abroad with native commodities, and not with money, does not make a nation poorer, is but what every man, that gives himself leisure to think, must immediately rectify, by finding out, that, upon the end of an account between a nation, and all they deal with abroad, whatever the exportation wants in value, to balance that of the importation, must of necessity be made up with ready money.

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By this we find out the foundation of the riches of *Holland*, as of their trade, by the circumstances already rehearsed. For never any country traded so much, and consumed so little: they buy infinitely, but it is to sell again, either upon improvement of the commodity, or at a better market. They are the great masters of the *Indian* spices, and of the *Persian* silks, but wear plain woollen, and feed upon their own fish and roots. Nay, they sell the finest of their own cloth to *France*, and buy coarse out of *England* for their own wear. They send abroad the best of their own butter, into all parts, and buy the cheapest out of *Ireland*, or the north of *England*, for their own use. In short, they furnish infinite luxury, which they never practise, and traffic in pleasures, which they never taste.

The Gentlemen and officers of the army change their cloaths and their modes like their neighbours. But, among the whole body of the civil magistrates, the merchants, the rich traders, and citizens in general, the fashions continue still the same; and others as constant among the seamen and boors: so that men leave off their cloaths, only because they are worn out, and not because they are out of fashion.

Their great foreign consumption is *French* wine and brandy; but that may be allowed them as the only reward they enjoy of all their pains, and as that alone which makes them rich and happy in their voluntary poverty, who would otherwise seem poor and wretched in their real wealth. Besides, what they spend in wine, they save in corn to make other drinks, which is bought from foreign parts. And, upon a pressure of their affairs, we see now, for two years together, they have denied themselves even this comfort, among all their sorrows, and made up in passive fortitude, whatever they have wanted in the active.

Thus it happens, that much going constantly out, either in commodity, or in the labour of sea-faring men,
and

and little coming in to be consumed at home; the rest returns in coin, and fills the country to that degree, that more silver is seen in *Holland*, among the common hands and purses, than brass either in *Spain* or in *France*; though one be so rich in the best native commodities, and the other drain all the treasures of the *West-Indies*.

By all this account of their trade and riches, it will appear, that some of our maxims are not so certain, as they are current, in our common politics. As, first, That example, and encouragement of excess and luxury, if employed in the consumption of native commodities, is of advantage to trade: it may be so to that which impoverishes, but it is not to that which enriches a country; and is indeed less prejudicial, if it lie in native, than in foreign wares. But the custom or humour of luxury and expence, cannot stop at certain bounds; what begins in native, will proceed in foreign commodities; and though the example arise among idle persons, yet the imitation will run into all degrees, even of those men by whose industry the nation subsists. And besides, the more of our own we spend, the less we shall have to send abroad; and so it will come to pass, that while we drive a vast trade, yet, by buying much more than we sell, we shall come to be poor; whereas, when we drove a very small traffic abroad, yet, by selling so much more than we bought, we were very rich in proportion to our neighbours. This appeared in *Edward III.*'s time, when we maintained so mighty wars in *France*, and carried our victorious arms into the heart of *Spain*: whereas, in the 28th year of that King's reign, the value and custom of all our exported commodities, amounted to 294184*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* and that of imported, but to 38970*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* So, as there must have entered that year into the kingdom in coin, or bullion (or else have grown a debt to the nation) 255214*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* And yet we then carried

out

out our wools unwrought, and brought in a great part of our cloaths from *Flanders*.

Another common maxim is, That if, by any foreign invasion, or servitude, the State, and consequently the trade, of *Holland*, should be ruined, the last would of course fall to our share in *England*. Which is no consequence; for it would certainly break into several pieces, and shift, either to us, to *Flanders*, to the *Hans Towns*, or to any other parts, according as the most of those circumstances should any where concur to invite it (and the likest to such) as appear to have formerly drawn it into *Holland*, by so mighty a confluence of people, and so general a vein of industry and parsimony among them. And whoever pretends to equal their growth in trade and riches, by other ways than such as are already enumerated, will prove, I doubt, either to deceive, or to be deceived.

A third is, That if that state were reduced to great extremities, so as to become a Province to some greater power, they would chuse our subjection rather than any other; or those, at least, that are the maritime, and the richest of the Provinces. But it will be more reasonably concluded, from all the former discourses, that, though they may be divided by absolute conquests, they will never divide themselves by consent, but all fall one way, and, by common agreement, make the best terms they can for their country, as a Province, if not as a State: and before they come to such an extremity, they will first seek to be admitted, as a *Belgic* circle, in the Empire, (which they were of old and thereby receive the protection of that mighty body, which (as far as great and smaller things may be compared) seems the likest their own state in its main constitutions, but especially in the freedom or sovereignty of the imperial cities. And this I have often heard their Ministers speak of, as their last refuge,

in case of being threatened by too strong and fatal a conjuncture.

And if this should happen, the trade of the Provinces would rather be preserved or increased, than any way broken or destroyed by such an alteration of their State, because the liberties of the country would continue what they are, and the security would be greater than now it is.

The last I will mention is of another vein: That if the Prince of *Orange* were made sovereign of their country, though by foreign arms, he would be a great Prince, because this now appears to be so great a State. Whereas, on the contrary, those Provinces would soon become a very mean country. For such a power must be maintained by force, as it would be acquired, and as indeed all absolute dominion must be in those Provinces. This would raise general discontents; and those perpetual seditions among the towns, which would change the orders of the country, endanger the property of private men, and shake the credits and safety of the government: whenever this should happen, the people would scatter, industry would faint, banks would dissolve, and trade would decay to such a degree, as probably, in course of time, the very digues would be no longer maintained by the defences of a weak people, against so furious an invader; but the sea would break in upon their land, and leave their chiefest cities to be fisher towns as they were of old.

Without any such great revolutions, I am of opinion, that trade has, for some years ago, past its meridian, and begun sensibly to decay among them: whereof there seem to be several causes; as first, the general application, that so many other nations have made to it, within these two or three and twenty years. For since the peace of *Munster*, which restored the quiet of Christendom in 1648, not only *Sweden* and *Denmark*, but *France* and *England*, have more particu-

larly,

UNITED PROVINCES of the NETHERLANDS. 135

larly, than ever before, busied the thoughts and councils of their several governments, as well as the humours of their people, about the matters of trade.

Nor has this happened without good degrees of success; though kingdoms of such extent, that have other and nobler foundations of greatness, cannot raise trade to such a pitch, as this little State, which had no other to build upon; no more than a man, who has a fair and plentiful estate, can fall to labour and industry, like one that has nothing else to trust to for the support of his life. But however, all these nations have come, of late, to share largely with them; and there seem to be grown too many traders for trade in the world, so as they can hardly live one by another. As in a great populous village, the first grocer, or mercer, that sets up among them, grows presently rich, having all the custom; 'till another, encouraged by his success, comes to set up by him, and share in his gains; at length so many fall to the trade, that nothing is got by it; and some must give over, or all must break.

Not many ages past, *Venice* and *Florence* possessed all the trade of *Europe*; the last by their manufactures; but the first by their shipping: and the whole trade of *Persia* and the *Indies*, whose commodities were brought (those by land, and these by the *Arabian* sea) to *Egypt*, from whence they were fetched by the *Venetian* fleets, and dispersed into most of the parts of *Europe*: and in those times we find the whole trade of *England* was driven by *Venetians*, *Florentines* and *Lombards*. The *Easterlings*, who were the inhabitants of the *Hans* Towns, as *Dantzick*, *Lubeck*, *Hamburgh*, and others upon that coast, fell next into trade, and managed all that of these northern parts for many years, and brought it first down to *Bruges*, and from thence to *Antwerp*. The first navigations of the *Portuguese* to the *East-Indies* broke the greatness of the *Venetian* trade, and drew it to *Lisbon*: and the revolt of the *Netherlands*, that of
Antwerp

Antwerp to Holland. But in all this time, the other and greater nations of *Europe* concerned themselves little in it; their trade was war; their counsels and enterprises were busied in the quarrels of the *Holy Land*, or in those between the Popes and Emperors (both of the same forge, engaging all christian Princes, and ending in the greatness of the Ecclesiastical State thro' out Christendom :) sometimes, in the mighty wars between *England* and *France*, between *France* and *Spain*: the more general between Christians and Turks; or more particular quarrels, between lesser and neighbouring Princes. In short, the Kingdoms and principalities were in the world, like the Noblemen and Gentlemen in a country; the free-states and cities, like the merchants and traders: these at first despised by the others; the others served and revered by them; 'till, by the various course of events in the world, some of these came to grow rich and powerful by industry and parsimony; and some of the others, poor by war and by luxury: which made the traders begin to take upon them, and carry it like Gentlemen; and the Gentlemen begin to take a fancy of failing to trade. By this short account it will appear no wonder, either that particular places grew so rich and so mighty, while they alone enjoyed almost the general trade of the world; nor why not only the trade in *Holland*, but the advantage of it in general, should seem to be lessened by so many that share it.

Another cause of its decay in that State may be, that, by the mighty progress of their *East-India* company, the commodities of that country are grown more than these parts of the world can take off; and consequently, the rates of them must needs be lessened, while the charge is increased by the great wars, the armies, and forts, necessary to maintain, or extend, the acquisitions of that company in the *Indies*. For, instead of five or six *East-India* ships, which used to make the

fleet

fleet of the year, they are now risen to eighteen or twenty (I think two and twenty came in one year to the *United Provinces*.) This is the reason why the particular persons of that company in *Holland* make not so great advantage of the same stock, as those of ours do in *England*; though their company be very much richer, and drives a far greater trade than ours, which is exhausted by no charge of armies, or forts, or ships of war: and this is the reason, that the *Dutch* are forced to keep so long and so much of those commodities in their magazines here, and to bring them out, only as the markets call for them, or are able to take off; and why they bring so much less from the *Indies* than they were able to do, if there were vent enough here: I remember, one of their seamen, newly landed out of their *East-India* fleet, in the year 69, upon discourse in a boat between *Delf* and *Leyden*, said, he had seen, before he came away, three heaps of nutmegs burnt at a time, each of which was more than a small church could hold, which he pointed at in a village that was in sight.

Another cause may be the great cheapness of corn, which has been for these dozen years, or more, general in all these parts of *Europe*, and which has a very great influence upon the trade of *Holland*. For a great vent of *Indian* commodities (at least the spices, which are the gross of them) used to be made into the northern parts of *Europe*, in exchange for corn, while it was taken off at good rates by the markets of *Flanders*, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, or *Italy*; in all which countries it has of late years gone so low, as to discourage the import of so great quantities, as used to come from *Poland* and *Prussia*, and other parts of the north. Now the less value those nations receive for corn, the less they are able to give for spice; which is a great loss to the *Dutch* on both sides, lessening the vent of their *Indian* ware in the Northern, and the traffic

of corn in the Southern parts. The cause of this great cheapness of corn seems to be, not so much a course of plentiful and seasonable years, as the general peace that has been in *Europe* since the year 59, or 60; by which so many men and so much land have been turned to husbandry, that were before employed in the wars, or lay wasted by them in all the frontier provinces of *France* and *Spain*, as well as throughout *Germany*, before the peace of *Munster*; and in *England* during the actions or consequences of a civil war: and plenty grows not to a height, but by the succession of several peaceful as well as seasonable years.

The last clause I will mention is the mighty enlargement of the city of *Amsterdam*, by that which is called the *new town*; the extent whereof is so spacious, and the buildings of so much greater beauty and cost than the old, that it must have employed a vast proportion of that stock which in this city was before wholly turned to trade. Besides there seems to have been growing on, for these later years, a great vie of luxury and expence among many of the merchants of that town, than was ever formerly known: which was observed and complained of, as well as the enlargement of their city, by some of the wisest of their Ministers, while I resided among them, who designed some regulations by sumptuary laws; as knowing the very foundations of their trade would soon be undermined, if the habitual industry, parsimony, and simplicity of their people came to be over-run by luxury, idleness and excess. However it happened, I found it agreed by all the most diligent and circumspect inquiries I could make, that, in the years 69 and 70, there was hardly any foreign trade among them, besides that of the *Indies*, by which the traders made the returns of their money, without loss; and none, by which the common gain was above two or three in the hundred. So, as it seems to be with trade, as with the sea (its element)

ment) that has a certain pitch above which it never rises in the highest tides, and begins to ebb, as soon as ever it ceases to flow; and ever loses ground in one place, proportionable to what it gains in another.

CHAP. VII.

Of their FORCES and REVENUES.

THE strength and forces of a kingdom, or state, were measured, in former ages, by the numbers of native and warlike subjects which they could draw into the field, upon any war with their neighbours. National quarrels were decided by national armies, not by stipendiary forces (raised with money, or maintained by constant pay.) In the several kingdoms and principalities of *Europe*, the bodies of their armies were composed, as they are still in *Poland*, of the Nobility and Gentry, who were bound to attend their Princes to the wars, with certain numbers of armed men, according to the tenure and extent of the several lordships and lands they held of the crown: where these were not proportionable to the occasion, the rest were made up of subjects drawn together by love of their Prince, or their country: by desire of conquests and spoils, or necessity of defence: held together by allegiance or religion; and spirited by honour, revenge, or avarice (not of what they could get from their leaders, but from their enemies.) A battle or two, fairly fought, decided a war; and a war ended the quarrel of an age, and either lost or gained the cause or country contended for: till the change of times and accidents brought it to a new decision; till the virtues and vices of Princes made them stronger or weaker, either in the love and obedience of their people, or in such orders and customs as rendered their subjects more or less warlike

or effeminate. Standing forces, or guards in constant pay, were no where used by lawful Princes in their native or hereditary counties, but only by conquerors in subdued provinces, or usurpers at home; and were a defence only against subjects, not against enemies.

These orders seem first to have been changed in *Europe* by the two States of *Venice* and *Holland*: both of them small in territories at land, and those extended in frontier upon powerful neighbours; both of them weak in number of native subjects; and those less warlike at land, by turning so much to traffic, and to sea: but both of them mighty in riches and trade; which made them endeavour to balance their neighbours strength in native subjects, by foreign stipendiary bands; and to defend their frontiers by the arts of fortification, and strength of places, which might draw out a war into length by sieges, when they durst not venture it upon a battle; and so make it many times determine by force of money, rather than of arms. This forced those Princes, who fronted upon the States, to the same provisions; which have been increased by the perpetual course of wars, upon the continent of *Europe*, ever since the rise of this State, until the peace of the *Pirences*, between Princes bordering one upon the other; and so, ready for sudden inroads or invasions.

The force therefore of these Provinces is to be measured, not by the number or dispositions of their subjects, but by the strength of shipping, and standing-troops, which they constantly maintain, even in time of peace; and by the numbers of both, which they have been able to draw into the field, and to sea, for support of a war: by their constant revenue to maintain the first; and by the temporary charge, they have been able to furnish, for supply of the other.

I will not enumerate their frontier towns (which is a common theme) or the forces necessary for the garrisons

sons of them; nor the nature and variety of their taxes and impositions, though I have an exact list of them by me, expressing the several kinds, rates, and proportions, upon every Province and town: but this would swell a discourse with a great deal of tedious matter, and to little purpose. I shall therefore be content only to observe, what I have informed myself of their forces and revenues in general, from persons among them, the best able to give that account.

The ordinary revenue of this State consists, either in what is levied in the conquered towns, and country of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, or the *Rhine*; which is wholly administered by the council of State: or else the ordinary funds which the Seven Provinces provide every year, according to their several proportions, upon the petition of the council of State, and computation of the charge of the ensuing year, given in by them to the States-General. And this revenue commonly amounts to about one and twenty millions of gilders a-year; every million making about ninety thousand pounds *sterling*, intrinsic value.

The chief funds, out of which this rises, are, the excise and the customs: the first is great, and so general, that I have heard it observed at *Amsterdam*, that when, in a tavern, a certain dish of fish is eaten with the usual sauce, above thirty several excises are paid, for what is necessary to that small service. The last are low and easy, and applied particularly to the Admiralty.

Out of this revenue is supplied the charge of the whole milice, of all public officers of the State, and Ambassadors, or Ministers abroad, and the interest of about thirteen millions owing by the States-General.

The standing forces in the year 1670, upon so general a peace, and after all reformatations, were twenty six thousand two hundred men, in ten regiments of horse consisting of fifty troops; and nineteen of foot, consisting

consisting of three hundred and eighty companies. The constant charge of these forces stood them in six millions one hundred and nineteen thousand gilders a-year.

The Admiralties, in time of peace, maintain between thirty and forty men of war, employed in the several convoys of their merchants fleets, in a Squadron of eight or ten ships, to attend the *Algerines* and other *Corairs* in the *Mediterranean*; and some always lying ready in their havens for any sudden accidents or occasions of the State. The common expence of the Admiralties in this equipage, and the built of ships, is about six millions a-year.

Besides the debt of the generality, the Province of *Holland* owes about sixty five millions, for which they pay interest at four in the hundred; but with so great ease and exactness, both in principal and interest, that no man ever demands it twice; they might take up whatever money they desired. Whoever is admitted to bring in his money, takes it for a great deal of favour; and when they pay off any part of the principal, those it belongs to receive it with tears, not knowing how to dispose of it to interest, with such safety and ease. And the common revenue of particular men lies much in the cantores, either of the generality, or the several Provinces, which are the registries of these public debts.

Of the several imposts and excises, those that are upon certain and immoveable possessions (as houses and lands) are collected by the Magistrates of the several places, and by them paid in to the receivers, because both the number and value of them are constant and easily known. Those, which arise out of uncertain consumptions, are all set out to farm, and to him that bids most, some every three months, some every six, and some yearly.

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The collection, receipt, and distribution of all public monies are made without any fee to officers, who receive certain constant salaries from the State, which they dare not increase by any private practices, or extortions: so, whoever has a bill of any public debt, has so much ready money in his coffers, being paid certainly at call, without charge or trouble; and assigned over in any payment, like the best bill of exchange.

The extraordinary revenue is, when upon some great occasions, or wars, the generality agrees to any extraordinary contributions: as sometimes the hundredth penny of the estates of all the inhabitants; pole, or chimney-money; or any other subsidies, and payments, according as they can agree, and the occasions require; which have sometimes reached so far, as even to an imposition upon every man that travels in the common ways of their country, by boat, or in a coach; in waggon, or on horseback.

By all these means, in the first year of the *English* war, in 1665, there were raised in the Provinces forty millions, of which twenty two in the Province of *Holland*. And, upon the Bishop of *Munster's* invading them, at the same time, by land, they had, in the year 66, above threescore thousand land-men in pay; and a fleet of above an hundred men of war at sea.

The greatness of this nation, at that time, seems justly to have raised the glory of ours; which, during the years 65 and 66, maintained a war, not only against this powerful State, but against the crowns of *France* and *Denmark*, in conjunction with them: and all, at a time, when this kingdom was forced to struggle at home with the calamitous effects of a raging plague, that, in three months of the first year, swept away incredible numbers of people; and of a prodigious fire, that, in three days of the second, laid in ashes that antient and famous city of *LONDON* (the heart and center of our commerce and riches) consuming

consuming the greatest part of its buildings, and an immense proportion of its wealth. Yet, in the midst of these fatal accidents, those two summers were renowned with three battles of the mightiest fleets that ever met upon the ocean; whereof two were determined by intire and unquestioned victories, and pursuit of our enemies into their very havens. The third having begun by the unfortunate division of our fleet, with the odds of ninety of their ships against fifty of ours; and in spite of such disadvantages, having continued, or been renewed for three days together, (wherein we were every morning the aggressors) ended at last by the equal and mutual weakness and weariness of both sides, the maims of ships and tackling, with want of powder and ammunition: having left undecided the greatest action that will perhaps appear upon record of any story. And in this battle, *Monsieur de Wit* confessed to me, That we gained more honour to our nation, and to the invincible courage of our seamen, than by the other two victories: that he was sure their men could never have been brought on the two following days, after the disadvantages of the first; and he believed no other nation was capable of it but ours.

I will not judge how we came to fail of a glorious peace in the six months next succeeding, after the fortune of our last victory, and with the honour of the war: but as any rough hand can break a bone, whereas much art and care are required to set it again, and restore it to its first strength and proportion, so it is an easy part in a Minister of State to engage a war, but it is given to few to know the times, and find the ways of making peace. Yet when, after the sensible events of an unfortunate negligence, an indifferent treaty was concluded at *Breda*, in 1667, within six months following, by an alliance with this State in January 1668, (which was received with incredible joy

and

and applause among them.) His Majesty became the unquestioned arbiter of all the affairs of Christendom; made a peace between the two great crowns, at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, which was avowed by all the world to be perfectly his own; and was received with equal applause of Christian princes abroad, and of his subjects at home; and for three years succeeding, by the unshaken alliance and dependence of the United States, his Majesty remained absolute master of the peace of Christendom, and in a posture of giving bounds to the greatest, as well as protection to the weakest of his neighbours.

C H A P. VIII.

The Causes of their F A L L, in 1672.

IT must be avowed, that as this State, in the course and progress of its greatness for so many years past, has shined like a comet; so, in the revolutions of this last summer, it seemed to fall like a meteor, and has equally amazed the world by the one and the other. When we consider such a power and wealth, as was related in the last chapter, to have fallen in a manner prostrate within the space of one month; so many frontier towns, renowned in the sieges and actions of the *Spanish* wars, entered like open villages by the *French* troops, without defence, or almost denial; most of them without any blows at all, and all of them with so few; their great rivers, that were esteemed an invincible security to the provinces of *Holland* and *Utrecht*, passed with as much ease, and as small resistances; as little fords; and in short, the very heart of a nation, so valiant of old against *Rome*, so obstinate against *Spain*, now subdued, and, in a manner, abandoning all before their danger appeared: we may justly

ly have our recourse to the secret and fixed periods of all human greatness, for the account of such a revolution; or rather to the unfearchable decrees and irresistible force of divine providence; though it seems not more impious to question it, than to measure it by our scale; or reduce the issues and motions of that eternal will and power to a conformity with what is esteemed just, or wise, or good, by the usual consent, or the narrow comprehension of poor mortal men.

But, as in the search and consideration even of things natural and common, our talent, I fear, is to talk rather than to know; so we may be allowed to enquire and reason upon all things, while we do not pretend to certainty, or call that undeniable truth, which is every day denied by ten thousand; nor those opinions unreasonable, which we know to be held by such, as we allow to be reasonable men; I shall therefore set down such circumstances, as to me seem most evidently to have conspired in this revolution; leaving the causes less discernible to the search of more discerning persons.

And first, I take their vast trade, which was an occasion of their greatness, to have been one likewise of their fall, by having wholly diverted the genius of their native subjects, and inhabitants, from arms, to traffic and the arts of peace; leaving the whole fortune of their later wars to be managed by foreign and mercenary troops; which much abased the courage of their nation (as was observed in another chapter) and made the burghers of so little moment towards the defence of their towns; whereas in the famous sieges of *Haerlem*, *Alcmer*, and *Leyden*, they had made such brave and fierce defences, as broke the heart of the *Spanish* armies, and the fortune of their affairs.

Next was the peace of *Munster*, which had left them now, for above twenty years, too secure of all
invasions

invasions, or enemies at land; and so turned their whole application to the strength of their forces at sea; which have been since exercised with two *English* wars in that time, and enlivened with the small yearly expeditions into the *Straits* against the *Algerines*, and other *Corfsairs* of the *Mediterranean*.

Another was, their too great parsimony, in reforming so many of their best foreign officers and troops, upon the peace of *Munster*; whose valour and conduct had been so great occasions of inducing *Spain* to the councils and conclusions of that treaty.

But the greatest of all other, that concurred to weaken, and indeed break, the strength of their land milice, was the alteration of their State, which happened by the *Perpetual Edict* of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, upon the death of the last Prince of *Orange*, for exclusion of the power of Stadtholder in their Province, or at least the separation of it from the charge of Captain-General. Since that time, the main design and application of those Provinces has been, to work out, by degrees, all the old officers, both native and foreign, who had been formerly sworn to the Prince of *Orange*, and were still thought affectionate to the interest of that family; and to fill the commands of their army, with the sons, or kinsmen, of their burgomasters, and other officers or deputies in the State, whom they esteemed sure to the constitutions of their popular government, and good enough for an age, where they saw no appearance of enemy at land to attack them.

But the humour of kindness to the young Prince, both in the people and army, was not to be dissolved, or dispersed, by any medicines, or operations, either of rigour or artifice; but grew up insensibly, with the age of the Prince, ever presaging some revolution in the State, when he should come to the years of aspiring, and managing the general affections of the people;

ple; being a Prince, who joined to the great qualities of his Royal blood, the popular virtues of his country; silent and thoughtful; given to hear, and to inquire; of a sound and steady understanding; much firmness in what he once resolves, or once denies; great industry and application to his business, little to his pleasures; piety in the religion of his country, but with charity to others; temperance unusual to his youth, and to the climate; frugal in the common management of his fortune, and yet magnificent upon occasion; of great spirit and heart, aspiring to the glory of military actions, with strong ambition to grow great, but rather by the service, than the servitude of his country. In short, a Prince of many virtues, without any appearing mixture of vice.

In the *English* war, begun the year 1665, the States disbanded all the *English* troops that were then left in their service, dispersing the officers and soldiers of our nation, who staid with them, into other companies, or regiments of their own. After the *French* invasion of *Flanders*, and the strict alliance between *England* and *Holland* in 1668, they did the same by all the *French* that were remaining in their service: so as the several bodies of these two nations, which had ever the greatest part in the honour and fortune of their wars, were now wholly dissolved, and their standing milice composed, in a manner, all of their own natives, enervated by the long uses and arts of traffic, and of peace.

But they were too great a match for any of the smaller Princes their neighbours in *Germany*; and too secure of any danger from *Spain*, by the knowledge of their forces, as well as dispositions; and being strictly allied both with *England* and *Sweden*, in two several defensive leagues, and in one common triple alliance, they could not foresee any danger from *France*, who, they thought, would never have the courage, or
force,

force, to enter the lists with so mighty confederates; and who were sure of a conjunction, whenever they pleased, both with the Emperor and Spain.

Besides, they knew that *France* could not attack them, without passing through *Flanders* or *Germany*: they were sure *Spain* would not suffer it through the first, if they were backed in opposing it, as foreseeing the inevitable loss of *Flanders*, upon that of *Holland*: and they could hardly believe, the passage should be yielded by a *German* Prince, contrary to the express will and intentions of the Emperor, as well as the common interests of the empire: so that they hoped the war would, at least, open in their neighbours provinces, for whose defence they resolved to employ the whole force of their State; and would have made a mighty resistance, if the quarrel had begun at any other doors, but their own.

They could not imagine a conjunction between *England* and *France*, for the ruin of their State; for, being unacquainted with our constitutions, they did not foresee, how we should find our interest in it, and measured all states, by that which they esteemed to be their interest. Nor could they believe, that other Princes and States of *Europe* would suffer such an addition to be made to the power of *France*, as a conquest of *Holland*.

Besides these public considerations, there were others particular to the factions among them; and some of their Ministers were neither forward nor supple enough to endeavour the early breaking, or diverting, such conjunctures, as threatened them; because they were not without hopes, they might end in renewing their broken measures with *France*; which those of the commonwealth-party were more inclined to, by foreseeing the influence that their alliances with *England* must needs have in time, towards the restoring of the Prince of *Orange's* authority; and they thought at the worst,

worst, that, whenever a pinch came, they could not fail of a safe bargain, in one market or other, having so vast a treasure ready to employ upon any good occasion.

These considerations made them commit three fatal oversights in their foreign negotiations: for they made an alliance with *England*, without engaging a confidence and friendship: they broke their measures with *France*, without closing new ones with *Spain*: and they reckoned upon the assistances of *Sweden*, and their neighbour-Princes of *Germany*, without making them sure by subsidiary advances, before a war began.

Lastly, the Prince of *Orange* was approaching the two and twentieth year of his age, which the States of *Holland* had, since their alliance with his Majesty in 1668, ever pretended should be the time of advancing him to the charge of Captain-General and Admiral of their forces, though without that of Stadtholder. But the nearer they drew to this period, which was like to make a new figure in their government, the more desirous some of their Ministers seemed, either to decline, or to restrain it. On the other side, the Prince grew confident upon the former promises, or, at least, intimations, of *Holland*, and the concurring dispositions of the other six Provinces to his advancement: and his party, spirited by their hopes, and the great qualities of this young Prince (now grown ripe for action, and for enterprise) resolved to bring this point to a sudden decision; against which, the other party prepared, and united all their defences; so, as this strong disease, that had been so long working in the very bowels of the State, seemed just upon its crisis; when a conjunction of two mighty Kings brought upon them a sudden and furious invasion by land and sea, at the same time, by a royal fleet of above fourscore ships, and an army of as many thousand men.

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When the States saw this cloud ready to break upon them (after a long belief, that it would blow over) they began, not only to provide shelter at home with their usual vigour, but to look out for it abroad (though both too late.) Of the Princes that were their allies, or concerned in their danger, such as were far off could not be in time; the nearer were unwilling to share in a danger they were not prepared for; most were content to see the pride of this State humbled; some the injuries they had received from them, revenged; many would have them mortified, that would not have them destroyed; and so all resolved to leave them to weather the storm, as they could, for one *campania*; which, they did not believe, could go far towards their ruin, considering the greatness of their riches, number of their forces, and strength of their places.

The State, in the mean time, had increased their troops to seventy thousand men, and had begun to repair the fortifications of their frontier towns: but so great a length of their country lay open to the *French* invasion, by the territories of *Colen* and *Liege*, and to the Bishop of *Munster* (their inveterate enemy) by *Westphalia*, that they knew not where to expect or provide against the first danger: and while they divided their forces and endeavours towards the securing of so many garrisons, they provided for none to any purpose but *Maestricht*; which the *French* left behind them, and fell in upon the towns of the *Rhine*, and the heart of their Provinces,

Besides, those Ministers, who had still the direction of affairs, bent their chief application to the strength and order of their fleet, rather than of their army: whether more pecked at *England* than *France*, upon the war and manner of entering into it: or believing that a victory at sea would be the way to a peace with this crown: or, hoping their towns would not fall so fast,
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but that, before three or four were lost, the business at sea would be decided: or, perhaps content, that some ill successes should attend the Prince of Orange at his first entrance upon the command of their armies, and thereby contribute to their designs of restraining his authority, while they were forced to leave him the name of Captain-General. This, indeed, was not likely to fail, considering the ill constitution of their old army, the hasty levies of their new, and the height of the factions now broken out in the State; which left both the towns and the troops in suspense, under whose banners they fought, and by whose orders they were to be governed, the Prince's or the State's.

There happened, at the same time, an accident unusual to their climate, which was a mighty drought in the beginning of the summer, that left their waters fordable in places where they used to be navigable for boats of greatest burden. And this gave them more trouble and distraction in the defence, as their enemies more facility in the passage of those great rivers, which were esteemed no small security of their country.

And in this posture were the affairs of this commonwealth, when the war broke out, with those fatal events, that must needs attend any kingdom, or state, where the violence of a foreign invasion happens to meet with the distracted estate of a domestic sedition or discontent, which, like ill humours in a body, make any small wound dangerous, and a great one mortal. They were still a great body, but without their usual soul; they were a State, but it was of the *dis-united* Provinces. Their towns were without order; their burghers without obedience; their soldiers without discipline; and all without heart: whereas, in all sieges, the hearts of men defend the walls, and not walls the men: and indeed, it was the name of *England* joining in the war against them, that broke their hearts, and contributed

UNITED PROVINCES of the NETHERLANDS. 153

buted more to the loss of so many towns, and so much country, than the armies of *Munster*, or *France*. So that, upon all circumstances considered, it seems easier to give an account, what it was that lost them so much, than what saved them the rest.

No man at play sees a very great game, either in his own or in another's hand, unexpectedly lost, but he is apt to consider, whether it could have been saved, and how it ought to have been played. The same inquiry will be natural upon the fall of this State, and very difficult to resolve.

After the mighty growth of the *French*, and decay of the *Spanish* power, which drew on the invasion of *Flanders* in 1667, this State had a very hard game to play; either they must see *Flanders* wholly lost, and *France* grown to confine upon them (whom they liked as an ally, but dreaded as a neighbour); or else, they must join with *France* to divide *Flanders* between them; but they knew what it was to share with the lion: or they must join with *Spain* to defend *Flanders* against *France*, that is, with their old enemy, against their old friend: or, lastly, they must join with *England* for the defence of *Flanders*; neither breaking with *France*, nor closing with *Spain*; and frame an arbitrage, but something of a rough nature; rather prescribing than mediating a peace, and threatening a war upon that crown that refused it.

They chose the last, and wisely, as all men thought; but though this alliance was happily planted, yet it was unhappily cultivated, and so the fruit came to fall, and the root to wither upon the first change of seasons, in such a manner, and to such a degree, as we have lately seen. Whether they could have prevented a conjunction of *England* with *France*, shall be no part of my subject; for I pretend not to know, or to tell, secrets of State; and intend these, not for the observations of an ambassador, but of a private

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man as I am, and such as any Gentleman might easily have made, who had resided above two years, as I did, in *Holland*; and had been, as I was, a little inclined to observe. I shall only say, that the conjunction of *England* with *France* was to this State, like one of those diseases which, the physicians say, are hard to discern, while they are easy to cure; but when once they come to be plainly discovered, they are past remedy.

But, as *Holland* had ever defended itself against *Spain*, by *England* and *France*; so it ought to have done against *France*, by *England* and *Spain*, and provided early against their own danger, as well as that of *Flanders*, by improving and advancing their confederate league with *England* and *Sweden*, into a strict defensive alliance with *Spain*, as a principal in the league; and by agreeing with that crown, to furnish between them some constant subsidiary payments to *Sweden*, for the support of their standing forces, even in time of peace. This was the desire of *Spain*, the interest of all that meant to secure the peace of Christendom; and the opinion of some of the *Dutch* ministers, though not of the chiefest, 'till it was too late: and the omission of this was the greatest fault ever committed in their politics; and proceeded in a great measure from their antient animosity to *Spain*; which, as it was the beginning, so, by this effect, it almost proved the end of their State.

When the war began in the midst of the conjunctures related, 'tis hard to say what could have defended them: but as men in a town, threatened with a mighty siege, abandon their suburbs, and slight those out-works, which are either weak of themselves, or not well defensible for want of men; and resolve only to make good those posts which they are able fully to man, and easily to relieve; because the loss of every small out-work does not only weaken the number, but sink the courage of the garrison within.

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So this State, which came to be in a manner besieged by the mighty and numerous armies of *France* and of *Munster*, ought, in my opinion, to have left themselves but three out-works to maintain; (I mean three posts standing without the lines, that inclosed the main body of their provinces): these should have been *Maestricht*, *Wesel*, and *Coeverden*. They should have slighted all the rest of their places, that lay without these upon the *Rhine*, or in *Overysse*; and drawn the men into these towns, so as to have left them rather like camps than garrisons; that is, eight thousand foot, and two thousand horse in *Maestricht*, as many in *Wesel*, and half the number in *Coeverden*, if the place would contain them; if not, they might have formed and fortified a camp, with something a greater number, upon the next pass into *Friezland* and *Groninguen*.

Of the rest of their horse (which were, I suppose, about five thousand) with at least fifteen thousand foot, they should have formed a great standing camp within their rivers, somewhere near *Arnhem*; fortified it with cannon, and all the art that could be; furnished it with the greatest care, and plenty of provisions. The remainder of their infantry would have been enough for the rest of their garrisons; of which the towns upon the *Yssel*, *Doesburgh*, *Zutphen*, *Daventer*, and *Szwoll*, would have been in a manner flanked (though at some distance) by the strong garrisons of *Wesel* and *Coeverden*, and breasted by the main camp.

If, with this disposition of their forces, they had provided well for the strength and defence of *Skink-sconce*, *Nimmeguen*, and *Grave* (which would likewise have lain within all the cover of these out-posts): they might, for ought I know, have expected the war, without losing the heart and steadiness of their counsels, and not without a probability of making a defence worthy

worthy the former greatness and achievements of their State.

For a siege of *Maastricht* or *Wesel* (so garrisoned and resolutely defended) might not only have amused, but endangered the *French* armies; as *Coeurden* might have done that of *Munster*.

The resistance of one of these towns would have increased the strength of all the rest: for the fortune of battles and sieges turns upon the hearts of men, as they are more or less capable of general confidences or fears, which are very much raised by accidents and opinions. It would not have been within any common rules, to march so far into the country, as to attack the *Barse* or *Breda*, *Nimwegen* or *Grave*, leaving such camps behind as those at *Wesel* and *Maastricht*, and having so much a greater before them as that about *Arnhem*. If any of these three posts had been lost, yet it could not have happened without good conditions, and so retiring the men to strengthen either the more inward garrisons, or the main camp, which would have lain ready to defend the passes of their rivers. And if, at the worst, they had failed in this, yet the *French* army must, afterwards, either have attacked a fortified camp of twenty thousand men, or left such an army behind them when they marched to *Utrecht*, and into the heart of the provinces; both of which would have been attempts, that, I think, have hardly been enterprised with success upon any invasion.

There seems at least some appearance of order and conduct in this scheme of defence; whereas there was none in theirs: but perhaps the greatness of the tempest from abroad, and of the factions at home, either broke the heart, or distracted the course of their counsels. And besides, such old seamen, in so strong a ship, that had weathered so many storms without loss, could not but think it hard, to throw over board so much of their lading before this began. After all, I
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know very well, that nothing is so hard as to give wise counsel before events; and nothing so easy, as, after them, to make wise reflexions. Many things seem true in reason, and prove false in experience: many, that are weakly consulted, are executed with success. Therefore, to conclude, we must all acknowledge, that wisdom and happiness dwell with God alone; and, among mortal men, (both of their persons and their States) those are the wisest that commit the fewest follies, and those the happiest that meet with the fewest misfortunes.

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knowing well that nothing is to be done to give
counsel before events; and nothing to say, as
there is no time to be lost. Many things have
been in view, and great care in execution; many
more are wisely considered, and will be done.
Therefore, to conclude, we must all be working
for wisdom and happiness, each with his own
means, and in his own way, of his power and
his station; that is the only way to the good
of all, and that the highest that men can do.

At Amsterdam, 1777. The 1st of June.

M. E.

The 1st of June, 1777.

The 1st of June, 1777.

MEMOIRS

OF WHAT PASSED IN

CHRISTENDOM,

FROM

The WAR begun 1672,

TO

The PEACE concluded 1679.

MEMOIRS

OF WHAT PASSED IN

CHRISTENDOM

FROM

The WAR begun 1672,

TO

The PEACE concluded 1679.

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To My S O N.

April, 1683.

I Do not remember ever to have refused any thing you have desired of me ; which I take to be a greater compliment to you than to myself ; since for a young man to make none but reasonable desires, is yet more extraordinary than for an old man to think them so. That which you made me some time since, and have so often renewed, I have at last resolved to comply with, as well as the rest ; and, if I live, will leave you some *Memoirs* of what has passed in my public employments, especially those abroad, which reached from the year 1665 to 1678 ; and run through the most important foreign negotiations of the crown, with great connexion of affairs at home during this period, and the revolutions it produced. The confidence of the King my master, and of his chief Ministers, as well as that of others abroad, gave me the advantage to discern and observe the true springs and motions of both ; which were often mistaken in Court and Parliament, and thereby fastened many suspicions, confidences, applauses, reproaches upon persons, and at times, where they were very undeserved. Twenty years of my life I passed in public thoughts and business, from the thirty

second to the fifty second year of my age; which I take to be the part of a man's life fittest to be dedicated to the service of his Prince or State, the rest being usually too much taken up with his pleasures or his ease. The native love of my country, and its antient legal constitutions, would not suffer me to enter into any public affairs, till the way was open for the King's happy restoration in 1660. And in 1680 you know I sent you to acquaint the King with my resolutions to pass the remainder of my life like as good a private subject as any he had, but never more to meddle with any public employment. All the rest of my age before, and since that period, I have taken no more notice of what passed upon the public scene, than an old man uses to do of what is acted on a theatre, where he gets as easy a seat as he can, entertains himself with what passes upon the stage, not caring who the actors are, or what the plot, nor whether he goes out before the play be done. Therefore you must expect nothing from me out of the compass of that time, nor any thing of *that* itself with much application or care, further than of truth. You know how lazy I am in my temper, how uneasy in my health, how weak my eyes, and how much of my time passes in walking or riding, and thereby fencing all I can against two cruel diseases that have for some time pursued me; so that I doubt the satisfaction you expect will be chiefly owing to ill health or ill weather, which yet are not like to fail at my age and

and in our climate. For the rest, if you find any thing either instructing or diverting in what I shall write upon this subject, you may attribute it wholly to the kindness and esteem I have for you, without which I should not have given myself the trouble of such recollections: and as I intend them for your use, so I desire no other may be made of them during my life; when that is ended, neither they nor you will be any more in my care; and whatever I leave of this, or any other kind, will be in your disposal. I am the gladder, and it is but just, that my public employments should contribute something to your entertainment, since they have done so little to your fortune, upon which I can make you no excuses; 'twas a thing so often in my power, that it was never in my thoughts; which were turned always upon how much less I needed, rather than how much more. If your's have the same turn, you will be but too rich; if the contrary, you will be ever poor.

MEMOIRS

Of what passed in

CHRISTENDOM,

From 1672 to 1679.

CHAP. I.

HAVING ended the first part of these Memoirs with my retirement from all public business in the year 1671, which was soon followed by the second *Dutch war*; I shall begin this with the approaches of the peace in the year 1673.

About this time, after two summers spent in a war between *England* and *Holland*, with several encounters at sea, but no decisive action, both parties began to enter upon thoughts, and indeed necessities, of a peace. The nations had been at war without being angry; and the quarrel had been thought on both sides rather of the ministries than the people. The *Dutch* believed it at first intended only against *De Wit's* faction, in favour of the Prince of *Orange*; and in *England* some laid it to the corruption of ministers by the money of *France*; and some that pretended to think deeper, laid it to deeper designs. The Lord *Clifford's* violence, in beginning it, gave it an ill air in general; and the dispute

use of parliaments, a cruel maim in the chief sinews of war.

The subsidies from *France* bore no proportion to the charge of our fleets, and our strength at sea seemed rather lessened than increased by the conjunction of theirs: Our seamen fought without heart, and were more afraid of their friends than their enemies; and our discontents were so great at land, that the assembling of our militia to defend our coasts, was thought as dangerous as an invasion. But that, which most pressed his Majesty to the thoughts of a peace, was the resolution of *Spain* to declare war against *England*, as they had done already against *France*, in favour of *Holland*, unless the peace were suddenly made; which would have been such a blow to our trade, as could not easily have been fenced, and lost us that of the *Mediterranean*, as the *Dutch* war had done that of the *Northern* seas: so as the necessity of this conjuncture was only kept off by the honour of our alliance with *France*. However, that crown not being able to furnish supplies enough to carry on the war without a parliament, could not oppose the calling one upon this occasion. When the Parliament met, though they seemed willing to give the King money, yet it was to make the peace with *Holland*, and not to carry on the war; and, upon his Majesty's demanding their advice, they gave it unanimously, that the peace should be made.

There were too many parties engaged in this quarrel to think of a general peace, though a treaty to that purpose had been set on foot at *Cologne*, under the mediation of the *Swedes*, between the ministers of the Emperor, *Spain*, *Holland*, and some Princes of the empire on the one part, and his Majesty and *France* on the other, but without any the least appearance of success; for though all the confederates had a mind to the peace between *England* and *Holland*, yet none
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of them desired it with *France*. This made both the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* set on foot all the engines they could, to engage his Majesty in some treaty of a separate peace; to which the necessity of his affairs, the humour of his people, and the instances of his Parliament, at last determined him, towards the end of the year 1673.

Upon the first meeting of the Parliament, the Duke of *Buckingham*, to ingratiate himself with the house of Commons (whose ill humour began to appear against those they esteemed the chief authors of the war) had desired leave of that house, that he might be heard there in his own defence upon that subject. In his speech, among many endeavours to throw the odium of the war from himself upon the Lord *Arlington*, he desired that Lord might be asked, who was the author of the triple alliance? as if he understood himself to be so. The Lord *Arlington* coming afterwards upon the like desire into the same house of Commons, and answering some parts of the Duke's speech; when he came to that particular, he told them he could easily answer that question of the Duke's, by telling them that the author of that alliance was Sir *William Temple*. This, I suppose, gave the occasion for reflexions upon what had passed in the course of my former embassies in *Holland* and at *Aix*; and his Majesty, and his ministers, the resolution to send for me out of my private retreat, where I had passed two years (as I intended to do the rest of my life) and to engage me in going over into *Holland*, to make the separate peace with that State.

Upon the 2d of *February* 1673-4, his Majesty received the certain advice of the States having passed a resolution, that the charges and dignities possessed by the Prince of *Orange*, and his ancestors, should become hereditary to his children: and at the same time he also received a letter from the States, with the desire of

of passports for the ambassadors, whom they resolved to send to his Majesty with instructions and powers to treat and conclude a peace, and in the mean time they offered a suspension of arms. This offer coming upon the neck of the Parliament's advice to his Majesty to enter into treaty with the *Spanish* Ambassador upon the propositions he had advanced, and which the King had ordered to be sent to the Parliament, it was not believed by the ministers that a treaty could be refused, without drawing too much odium upon themselves, and reflexion upon the government: on the other side, it was suspected what practices might be set on foot by *Dutch* ambassadors, upon the general discontent reigning against the present war. Therefore, that very afternoon, a resolution was taken at the private junto, to send rather than to receive an embassy upon this subject; and that I should be the person employed. Two Gentlemen were sent to my house within half an hour of one another, from the Earl of *Danby* then Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Arlington* first Secretary of State, to order my attendance upon his Majesty. My Lord *Arlington* told me, he would not pretend the merit of having named me upon this occasion; nor could he well tell whether the King or the Lord Treasurer did it first; but that the whole committee had joined in it; and concluded, that, since the peace was to be made, there was no other person to be thought of for it: and accordingly the King gave me his commands; with many expressions of kindness and confidence, to prepare for my journey; and the Secretary to draw up my instructions. I told the King I would obey him, and with a great deal of pleasure to see his Majesty returning to the measures upon which I had formerly served him; but, that I might do it the better, I begged of him that I might go over without the character of Ambassador, which would delay or embarrass me with preparations of equipage, and with ceremonies

ceremonies there, that were unnecessary to so sudden a dispatch. His Majesty thought what I said very pertinent, and so ordered that I should go only as Plenipotentiary; but that I should have in all kinds the appointment of Ambassador, and that I should take upon me the character too when the peace was concluded.

Within three days I was ready; and, the morning my dispatches were so too, the Marquis of *Frezno*, *Spanish* Ambassador, sent my Lord *Arlington* word (while I was with him) that he had received full powers from the States to treat and conclude a peace, and was ready to enter upon it whenever his Majesty pleased. My Lord *Arlington*, surpris'd, was at first of opinion the King should go on in his own way, and I my journey, and give the *Spaniards* no part in the affair: I was of another mind, and that besides the point of honour, which was clear in having the peace made rather at *London* than the *Hague*, I thought that of interest might be the better pursued when we were fought to by the States, than when we fought to them: besides, I believed the *Spaniard* would play us fair in a game that he thought so much his own, and not suffer the *Dutch* to stop at any small points, especially those of honour; whereas that of the flag (though such) was one his Majesty ought to lay most to heart. My Lord *Arlington*, after some debate, agreed with me, and desired me to go immediately and acquaint the King with this new and unexpected incident, who was then at the house of Lords. The King seem'd pleas'd with the change, and told me, that, since I did not treat it at the *Hague*, I should however at *London*; and bid me go and acquaint the Marquis of *Frezno* with his resolution; that, if he and I could agree upon the terms, the thing should soon be done.

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The terms to be insisted on were soon agreed by his Majesty at the foreign committee, which was composed of the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord *Arlington* and Mr. *Henry Coventry* Secretaries of State, with whom his Majesty ordered my attendance upon this affair. When I was instructed of his Majesty's pleasure, I went to the Marquis of *Frezno*, and at three meetings I concluded the whole treaty, with satisfaction to his Majesty, and transport to the Marquis, upon so great an honour as he thought it to himself, and the fortunes he expected upon it from his master. The articles, being public, need no place here. The two points of greatest difficulty were that of the flag, and the recalling all *English* troops out of the *French* service. This last was composed by private engagements to suffer those that were there to wear out without any recruits, and to permit no new ones to go over; but at the same time to give leave for such levies as the States should think fit to make in his Majesty's dominions, both of *English* and *Scots* regiments. The other of the flag was carried to all the height his Majesty could wish; and thereby a claim of the crown, the acknowledgment of its dominion in the narrow seas, allowed by treaty from the most powerful of our neighbours at sea, which had never yet been yielded to by the weakest of them, that I remember, in the whole course of our pretence; and had served hitherto but for an occasion of quarrel, whenever we or they had a mind to it, upon other reasons or conjectures. Nothing, I confess, had ever given me a greater pleasure, in the greatest public affairs, I had run through, than this success; as having been a point I ever had at heart, and in my endeavours, to gain upon my first negotiations in *Holland*; but found Monsier *De Wit* ever inflexible, though he agreed with me that it would be a rock upon which our firmest alliances would be in danger to strike and

to split, whenever other circumstances fell in to make either of the parties content to alter the measures we had entered into upon the triple alliance. The sum of money given his Majesty by the States, though it was not considerable in itself, and less to the King, by the greatest part of it being applied to the Prince of *Orange's* satisfaction for his mother's portion that had never been paid; yet it gave the King the whole honour of the peace, as the sum given by the Parliament upon it and the general satisfaction of his people made the ease of it. And thus happily ended our part of a war so fatal to the rest of Christendom in the consequences of it, which no man perhaps now alive will see the end of; and had been begun and carried on as far as it would go, under the ministry of five men who were usually called the *Cabal*, a word unluckily falling out of the five first letters of their names, that is, *Clifford*, *Arlington*, *Buckingham*, *Ashley*, and *Lauderdale*. But though the counsels and conduct of these men had begun the war with two unusual strains to the honour of the crown, in the attack of the *Smyrna* fleet, and stopping the bank; yet it must be allowed them to have succeeded well in the honours they proposed to themselves; *Clifford* having gained by it the place of High Treasurer, and title of a Baron; *Ashley* the Chancellor's place, and an earldom; *Arlington* an earldom with the garter, and *Lauderdale* a dukedom with the garter. The Duke of *Buckingham*, being already possessed of all the honours the crown could give of that kind, contented himself to make no better a bargain in this matter than he used to do in all others that concerned him; and so pretended no further than commands in the army. And thus, instead of making so great a King as they pretended by this *Dutch* war and *French* alliance, they had the honour of making only four great subjects.

After the peace was made, his Majesty's first care was

was to soften the stroke as much as he could towards *France*; which was done by representing the necessities of it (that needed no false colours) and at the same time to offer his mediation between the parties remaining still in the war, in case *France* either desired or accepted it; which took up some time to determine. In the mean while I continued in the posture and thoughts of the private man I was before this revolution, till about a week after the whole conclusion of it, when my Lord *Arlington* told me how kindly the King took of me both the readiness I had expressed to go over into *Holland*, and the easiness I shewed upon the failing of that commission, as well as the pains and success in the treaty with the *Spanish* Ambassador; and, not knowing any thing better he had to give me, he was resolved to send me Ambassador extraordinary into *Spain*; and to that purpose immediately to recall Sir *William Godolphin*, the ordinary Ambassador there, for many reasons that, he said, made it necessary in this conjuncture.

I acknowledged the honour his Majesty intended me, but desired time to give my answer till I had consulted my father upon it, who was then in *Ireland*, but in the intention of coming suddenly over; however, in a month I undertook to resolve. My Lord *Arlington* told me he did not expect any demur upon such an offer, which he took to be of the best employment the King had to give, and therefore he had already acquainted the *Spanish* Ambassador with it, who received it with great joy, and resolved immediately to give part of it to the Court of *Madrid*; which he was sure was already done, and therefore he would reckon upon it as a thing concluded; though, for the good grace of it to my father, he undertook the King would give me the time I asked to resolve. When I writ to my father upon this subject, he was so violent against my charging myself with this embassy, that I could not

not find any temper to satisfy him, and upon it was forced to make my excuses to the King. When I did so, his Majesty was pleased to assure me he did not at all take it ill of me, and that, on the contrary, he intended me a better employment: that he was at present engaged for the Secretary's place, upon my Lord *Arlington's* removal to Chamberlain; but that he resolved the next removal should be to make room for me. This I told my Lord *Arlington*; who presently said, that he believed I could not refuse the *Spanish* embassy, but upon design of the Secretary's place; and since I desired it, and the King fell into it of himself, he would play the easiest part in it that he could. He was indeed agreed with Sir *Joseph Williamson* for 6000 *l.* and the King had consented that he should enter upon it at his return from *Cologne*, which was every day expected; but yet he made such a difference between the persons, that he would find some way to avoid it in case I would lay down the 6000 *l.* I assured his Lordship I had no such design, nor such a sum of money to lay down, while my father enjoyed the estate of the family: that, if I had, I should be very unwilling to pursue it so far as to give his Lordship any strain in a matter already promised and concluded: and therefore desired him to think no further of it. But he was not of opinion I could stick at any thing but the money, and acquainted Mr. *Montague* and Mr. *Sidney*, who were friends to us both, with this transaction, and set them upon me to bring it to an issue before the other came over: they both endeavoured it with great instances, and Mr. *Montague* was so kind as to offer to lend me the money, but I was positive in refusing it; yet at the same time I told my Lord *Arlington*, that, not to seem humorous in declining the offers he had made me from the King or from himself, I was content they should both know, that, if his Majesty had occasion to send an embassy into *Holland* upon the peace, I would

would very willingly serve him there, where I knew the scene so well. So that matter slept for the present.

In the mean while *France* had thought fit to accept and approve the King's offer of mediation, that of *Sweden* being ended by the assembly at *Cologne* breaking up in expostulations and quarrels upon the Emperor's seizing the person of Prince *William of Furstemburg*, a subject of the empire, but an instrument of *France*, as his brother, the Bishop of *Strasburg*, had been in all the late designs and invasions of that crown upon their neighbours. The King told me, that being resolved to offer his mediation to all the confederates, as he had done already to *France*, and finding I had no mind to engage in either of these employments which had of late been offered me, he was resolved to send me Ambassador extraordinary into *Holland*, to offer his mediation there, as the scene of the confederates common counsels, and by their means to endeavour the acceptance of it by the rest of the Princes concerned in the war: that I knew the place and persons better than any man, and could do him more service, both in this, and continuing all good correspondence between him and the States, which he was resolved to preserve: that I should have the character of Ambassador-extraordinary, and the same allowance I should have had in *Spain*: upon this offer I made no demur, but immediately accepted it, and so my embassy was declared in *May* 1674.

But, to make way to my entering upon this great scene, it will be necessary to deduce, in short, the course of affairs abroad, from the first period of the present war, to this second of his Majesty's separate peace with *Holland*, and the several dispositions among the parties that were likely to facilitate, or to cross the design of the King's intended mediation.

No

No clap of thunder in a fair frosty day, could more astonish the world, than our declaration of war against *Holland* in 1672, first by matter of fact, in falling upon their *Smyrna* fleet; and. in consequence of that (however it failed) by a formal declaration, in which we gave reasons for our quarrel, while *France* contented themselves to give no other for their part of it, than only the glory of that King. The *Dutch* could never be possessed with a belief that we were in earnest till the blow was given; but thought our unkindness and expostulations, of late, would end at last either in demands of money, or the Prince of *Orange's* restitution to the authority of his ancestors. The Princes concerned in their safety could not believe, that after having saved *Flanders* out of the hands of *France*, we would suffer *Holland* to fall into the same danger; and my Lord *Arlington* told me at that time, that the Court of *France* did not believe it themselves till the blow was struck in the attack of the *Smyrna* fleet; but then they immediately set out their declaration, and began their invasion. This surprise made way for their prodigious successes. The *Dutch* had made no provision for their defence either at home or abroad; and the Empire, *Spain* and *Sweden* stood at a gaze upon the opening of the war, not knowing upon what concerts between us and *France* it was begun, nor how far we would suffer it to go on upon the *French* conquests. Besides, the animosities of the parties in *Holland*, long expressed under their new constitution and *De Wit's* ministry, began to flame again upon this misfortune of their State. The Prince's friends talked loud and boldly, that there was no way to satisfy *England*, but restoring the Prince; and that the baseness and cowardice of their troops were the effects of turning out all officers of worth and bravery for their inclinations to the Prince, and mean fellows brought in, for no other desert than their enmity declared

clared to the house of *Orange*. Upon this all men expected a sudden change; the States were in disorder, and irresolute what to do; the troops were without a General, and, which is worse, without heart; and though *De Ryeter*, by admiral conduct, kept the infection of these evils out of his fleet, which was our part to deal with; yet faction, distrust, sedition and distraction made such entrances upon the State and the army, when the *French* troops first invaded them, that of all the towns and fortresses on the *German* side (held impregnable in all their former wars) not one besides *Maeſtricht* made any show of resistance, and the *French* became immediately masters of all the inland parts of the provinces, in as little time as travellers usually employ to see and consider them. *Maeſtricht* was taken after a short siege, as *Schenck-sconce*, by the help of an extreme dry season, that made rivers fordable where they had never been esteemed so before. The King of *France* marched as far as *Utrecht*, where he fixed his camp and his court, and from thence began to consider of the ways how to possess himself of the rest, that was defended only by their situation upon some flat lands, which, as they had, by infinite labour in canals and digues, been either gained or preserved from inundations, so they were subject to them upon opening the sluices, whenever the *Dutch* found no other way of saving their country but by losing it. This, at least, was generally believed in the *French* camp and court, and, as I have heard, was the preservation of the State; for that King, unwilling to venture the honour and advantage of such conquests as he had made that summer, upon the hazards of a new sort of war with a merciless element, where neither conduct nor courage were of use, resolved to leave the rest to practices of peace with the States, upon the advantage of the terms he stood in and the small distance of place between them; or, if these should not succeed,

ceed, then he trusted to the frosts of the following winter, which seldom fail in that country to make all passable and safe for troops and carriages themselves, that in summer would be impassable, either from the waters, or the depth of the soil.

In the mean time, the State and the government of *Holland* took a new form, and with it a new heart. Monsieur *De Wit* and his brother had been massacred by the sudden fury of the people at the *Hague*, and by the fate of ministers that govern by a party or faction, who are usually sacrificed to the first great misfortunes abroad, that fall in to aggravate or inflame the general discontents at home. The fact and the manner having been very unusual, may be the subject of others inquiry, as it was of mine, which gave me this account: the *Ruart of Putten*, eldest brother to Monsieur *De Wit*, had been accused of a design upon the Prince's life, and of endeavouring by money to engage one of his Highness's domestics in that attempt; but no other witness appearing, he was sentenced only to be banished; at which the people shewed great dissatisfaction, being possessed with an opinion of his guilt. The morning he was to come out of prison, Monsieur *De Wit* (against the opinion of his friends) would needs go himself to bring him out with more honour, and carry him out of town; and to that purpose went with his coach and four horses to the court. This being not usual to this minister, made the people take more notice of it, and gather together tumultuously, first in the streets where he passed, and then about the court where the prisoner was kept. Some of the train'd-bands of the *Hague* that were upon the guard mingled among them, and began to rail aloud against the judgment of the court, the crime of one brother, and the insolence of the other, who pretended (as they said) to carry him away in triumph. In the midst of this heat and passion, raised by these kind of

discourses among the populace, the two brothers came out; some of the train'd-bands stopped them, began to treat them at first with ill language, and from words fell to blows; upon which Monsieur *De Wit*, foreseeing how the tragedy would end, took his brother by the hand, and was at the same time knocked down with the but-end of a musket. They were both presently laid dead upon the place, then dragged about the town by the fury of the people, and torn in pieces. Thus ended one of the greatest lives of any subject in our age, about the 47th year of his own; after having served, or rather administered that State, as Pensioner of *Holland* for about eighteen years, with great honour to his country and himself. After the death of these brothers, the Provinces and towns ran with unanimous voices into public demands of the Prince's being restored to the authority of his ancestors. The States had, in the beginning of the year, declared him Captain-General and Admiral of their forces, which was no more than *De Wit* had alway professed was designed for him when he should be of age; but this was found neither to have satisfied *England*, nor the Prince's party at home; and therefore all the members of the State agreed in those acts that were thought necessary to a full restitution of his Highness, now at the age of twenty one years, to the office and power of Stadtholder, with all advantages, and even some more than those which had been exercised by his ancestors. At the same time Monsieur *Fagel* was introduced into Monsieur *De Wit*'s place, of Pensioner of *Holland*, whose love to his country made him a lover of the Prince, as believing it could not be saved by any other hand, and whose zeal to his own religion made him an enemy irreconcilable to *France*, whose professions as well as designs were to destroy it.

This revolution, as it calmed all at home, so it made the first appearance of defending what was left

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of the country: the State grew united, the army in heart, and foreign Princes began to take confidence in the honour and constancy of the young Prince, which they had in a manner wholly lost upon the divisions and misfortunes of the State. The *French* themselves turned all their applications and practices the same way, and made the Prince all the offers that could be of honour and advantage to his person and family, provided he would be contented to depend upon them. The bait they thought could not fail of being swallowed, and about which most artifice was employed, was the proposal of making the Prince Sovereign of the Provinces, under the protection of *England* and *France*. And, to say truth, at a time when so little of the Provinces was left, and what remained was under water, and in so imminent danger upon the first frosts of the winter; this seemed a lure to which a meaner soul than that of this Prince might very well stoop. But his was above it, and his answers always firm, that he never would betray a trust that was given him, nor ever sell the liberties of his country that his ancestors had so long defended. Yet the game he played was then thought so desperate, that one of his nearest servants told me he had long expostulated it with his master; and asked him at last, how he pretended to live after *Holland* was lost? and whether he had thought so far? the Prince told him he had; and that he was resolved to live upon the lands he had left in *Germany*; and that he had rather pass his life in hunting there, than sell his country or his liberty to *France* at any price. I will say nothing of the embassy sent at this time by his Majesty to the *French* King at *Utrecht*, where the three Ambassadors, Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord *Arlington*, and Lord *Hallifax* found him in his highest exaltation, for I cannot pretend to know what the true ends or subject of it was. The common belief in *England* and *Holland* made it to be our jealousy
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of the *French* conquests going too fast, whilst ours were so lame; and great hopes were raised in *Holland*; that it was to stop their course or extent; but these were soon dashed by the return of the Ambassadors, after having renewed and fastened the measures formerly taken between the two crowns. And the Ambassadors were indeed content, as they passed through *Holland*, that the first should be thought; which gave occasion for a very good repartee of the Princess dowager to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who visited her as they passed through the *Hague*; and talking much of their being good *Hollanders*, she told him, that was more than they asked, which was only that they should be good *Englishmen*; he assured her they were not only so, but good *Dutchmen* too; that indeed they did not use *Holland* like a mistress, but they loved her like a wife: to which she replied *Vrayment, je croy que vous nous aimez comme vous aimez la vôtre*; [truly, I believe you love us as you love your own wife.]

When *France* had lost all hopes of shaking the Prince of *Orange's* constancy, they bent all their thoughts upon subduing and ruining the remainder of the country. They had advanced as far as *Woerden*, and from thence they made their ravages within two or three leagues of *Leyden*, with more violences and cruelties than would have been prudent, if they had hoped to reclaim the Prince or States from the obstinacy of their defence. The Prince encamped his army near *Bodegrave*, between *Leyden* and *Woerden*, and there made such a stand with a handful of men, as the *French* could never force. The winter proved not favourable to their hopes and designs, and some promises of frost inveigled them into marches that proved almost fatal to them by a sudden thaw. This frightened them into cautions, perhaps more than were necessary, and gave the Prince and States leisure to take their measures for a following campaign, with the Em-
peror,

peror, *Spain*, and the Dukes of *Brandenburg* and *Lunenburg*, which proved a diversion to the arms of *France*, and turned part of them upon *Germany* and *Flanders*, so as to give over the progress any further in *Holland*. Upon the approach of the winter, the Prince, after having taken *Naerden*, three leagues from *Amsterdam*, in spite of all resistance and opposition from either the *French* or the season, resolved, like another young *Scipio*, to save his country by abandoning it: and to avoid so many sieges, as all the towns they had lost would cost to recover; he contented himself to leave the chief posts guarded with a part of the army, and with the rest marched into *Germany*, joined part of the confederate troops, besieged *Bonne*, which had been put into the hands of *France* at the beginning of the war, wherein the Elector of *Cologne*, and the Bishop of *Munster* had entered jointly with *France*. The boldness of this action amazed all men, but the success extolled the prudence as well as the bravery of it; for the Prince took *Bonne*, and by it opened a passage for the *German* forces over the *Rhine*, and so into *Flanders*; and gave such a damp to the designs and enterprises of *France*, that they immediately abandoned all their conquests upon *Holland* in less time than they made them, retaining only *Maestricht* and *Grave* of all they had possessed belonging to this State.

In this posture stood affairs abroad, when the peace of *England* was made in *February* 1673-4; upon the strength and heart whereof the Prince of *Orange* concerted with the *German* and *Spanish* troops to begin an offensive war, and, at the head of an army of above forty thousand men, to march into *France*.

The *French* began now to wish the war well ended, and were very glad to accept his Majesty's mediation. The King was desirous to make *France* some amends for abandoning the party, and making a separate peace. Some of his ministers foresaw he would be arbiter of the

the peace by being mediator, and that he might hinder any separate treaties by mediating a general one, and might restore peace to Christendom whenever he thought fit, and upon what conditions he thought safe and just.

The only difficulties that appeared in this affair, were what the confederates were like to make in accepting the King's mediation, whose late engagements with *France* had made him thought very partial on that side. And the house of *Austria*, finding that Crown now abandoned by *England*, had too greedily swallowed the hopes of a revenge upon them, to desire any sudden treaty, till the successes they expected in the war, might at least make way for reducing *France* to the terms of that of the *Pyrenees*. This, I suppose, gave some occasion for my being again designed for this embassy, being thought to have some credit with *Spain* as well as *Holland*, from the negotiations I had formerly run through at the *Hague*, *Brussels*, and *Aix la Chapelle*, by which the remaining parts of *Flanders* had been saved out of the hands of *France* in the year 1668.

But having often reflected upon the unhappy issue of my last public employments, and the fatal turn of counsels in our court that had occasioned it, against so many wiser men's opinions, as well as my own; I resolved, before I went this journey, to know the ground upon which I stood, as well as I could, and to found it, by finding out what I was able of the King's true sentiments and dispositions, as to the measures he had now taken, or rather renewed, and trust no more to those of his Ministers, who had deceived either me or themselves. Therefore, at a long audience in his closet, I took occasion to reflect upon the late counsels, and ministry of the late cabal; how ill his Majesty had been advised to break measures and treaties so solemnly taken and agreed; how ill he had been served,

and

and how ill succeeded, by the violent humour of the nation breaking out against such proceedings; and by the jealousies they had raised against the Crown. The King said, 'Twas true, he had succeeded ill; but, if he had been well served, he might have made a good business enough of it; and so went on a good deal to justify what was past. I was sorry to find such a presage of what might again return from such a course of thought in the King, and so went to the bottom of that matter. I shewed how difficult, if not impossible it was, to set up here the same religion or government that was in *France*; that the universal bent of the nation was against both; that many, who were perhaps indifferent enough in the matter of religion, considered it could not be changed here but by force of an army; and that the same force, which made the King master of their religion, made him master of their liberties and fortunes too: that in *France* there was none to be considered but the Nobles and the Clergy; that, if a King could engage them in his designs, he had no more to do; for the peasants, having no land, were as insignificant in the government as the women and children are here: that, on the contrary, the great bulk of land in *England* lies in the hands of the yeomanry or lower gentry, and their hearts are high by ease and plenty, as those of the *French* peasantry are wholly dispirited by labour and want: that the Kings of *France* are very great in possessions of lands, and in dependences by such vast numbers of offices both military and civil, as well as ecclesiastical; whereas those of *England*, having few offices to bestow, having parted with their lands, their court of wards and knights service, have no means to raise or keep armies on foot, but by supplies from their parliaments, nor revenues to maintain any foreign war by other ways: that if they had an army on foot, yet, if composed of *English*, they would never serve

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ends that the people hated and feared: that the *Roman* Catholics in *England* were not the hundredth part of the nation, and in *Scotland* not the two hundredth; and it seemed against all common sense, to think by one part to govern ninety-nine that were of contrary minds and humours: that for foreign troops, if they were few, they would signify nothing but to raise hatred and discontent; and how to raise, to bring over at once, and to maintain many, was very hard to imagine: that the force, seeming necessary to subdue the liberties and spirits of this nation, could not be esteemed less than an army of threescore thousand men, since the *Romans* were forced to keep twelve legions to that purpose, the *Normans* to institute sixty-two thousand knights fees, and *Cromwell* left an army of near eighty thousand men: that I never knew but one foreigner that understood *England* well, which was *Gourville* (whom I knew the King esteemed the soundest head of any *Frenchman* he had ever seen;) that when I was at *Brussels* in the first *Dutch* war, and he heard the Parliament grew weary of it, he said, the King had nothing to do but to make the peace; that he had been long enough in *England*, seen enough of our Court, and people, and Parliaments, to conclude,

Qu'un Roy d'Angleterre, qui veut être l'homme de son peuple, est le plus grand Roy du monde; mais s'il veut être quelque chose d'avantage, par Dieu il n'est plus rien.

“That a King of *England*, who will be the man of his people, is the greatest King in the world; but “if he will be any thing more, by G—d he is no “thing at all”.

The King heard me very attentively, but seemed a little impatient at first: yet at last he said, I had reason in all, and so had *Gourville*; and, laying his hand upon

upon mine, he added, *Et je veux être l'homme de mon peuple; [And I will be the man of my people.]*

My embassy extraordinary to *Holland* was declared in *May*, and my dispatches finished at the Treasury as well as the Secretary's office, so as I went away in *July*. My instructions were, in general, to assure the State, of his Majesty's friendship, and firm resolution to observe his treaties with them; then to offer his mediation in the present war, which both they, and almost all *Christendom*, were engaged in; and, after their acceptance of it, to endeavour it likewise with all their allies; and, to that end, to engage the offices and intervention of the States. But, immediately after my arrival at the *Hague*, to repair to the Prince of *Orange*, give him part of his Majesty's intentions in all this affair, and assurance of his kindness, and engage his Highness, as far as could be, to second his Majesty's desires in promoting a general peace, wherein the *United Provinces* seemed to have the greatest interest.

After my arrival at the *Hague* in *July* 1674, and delivery of my credentials to the President of the week, and a visit to the Pensioner, wherein I discovered a strong inclination in the States to a peace, as far as their honour and engagements to their allies would allow them, and was assured of the States accepting his Majesty's mediation; I went away to *Antwerp*, in hopes to have found the Prince at his camp there, between *Antwerp* and *Louvain*, where he had lain some time attending the advance of the confederate troops, with whom he had concerted to join his army upon their arrival in *Flanders*. But, two days before I came to *Antwerp*, the army was marched beyond *Louvain*; so I was forced to go to *Brussels*, and there desire a guard to convoy me to the camp. The punctilio's of my character would not suffer me to see the Count *De Monterey*, though I had for some years lived at *Brussels* in particular friendship and conversation with him. Few

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strangers had perhaps ever been better used than I, during three years residence at *Brussels*, by all persons of quality, and indeed of all ranks there; so that it was very surprising to me to meet such a dry and cold treatment from the Governor, and such an affectation in the persons of quality, not so much as to visit me; for I do not remember one that did it besides the Count *D'Egmont*, who was not then very well at Court, either in *Spain* or *Flanders*. Others that I met in the streets, or the park, though they came up with open arms to embrace me, yet never came at me, but contented themselves with saying they intended it. When I sent my secretary to the Count *De Monterey* with my compliments, and desires of a guard to the Prince of *Orange*, who was then not above six leagues off; he returned the first very coldly, and the other with excuses that amounted to a refusal; he said, the way was so dangerous, by straggling parties of the army, that he could not advise me to venture with a small guard; and he had drawn out so many of the *Spanish* troops into the field, that he could not give me a great one. I sent again to desire what he could spare me, let the number be what it would; for though I would not expose the King's character nor his business, by any accident I might prevent; yet, when I had endeavoured it by my application to his Excellence, I would take my fortune, though he sent me but six of his guards. He replied, that he could not possibly spare any of them; but that next morning he expected a troop of horse to come into town, and that, as soon as it arrived, the Captain should have order to attend me. Next morning was put off till night, and night till the morning following; when the Count, finding I was resolved to go, though without convoy, rather than to expect longer, sent me a *Spanish* Captain with about forty horse to convoy me to *Louvain*. The truth was, that the *Spaniards* were grown so jealous of his Majesty's

Majesty's mediation offered at the *Hague*, of the States and people's violent humour to a peace in *Holland*, and of the offices they thought I might use, to slacken the Prince of *Orange* in the vigorous prosecution of their present hopes and designs, that I found it was resolved to delay first, and then to hinder absolutely any interview between the Prince and me till the campaign was ended, but to do it with as little ill grace as they could. To this purpose *Du Moulin* (then one of the Prince's Secretaries, and an inveterate enemy against the Court of *England*) was dispatched between the camp and *Brussels*, whilst I lay there, and with guards, whereof half would have served my turn, or at least contented me.

When I came to *Louvain*, I found the Prince was marched towards *Tirlemont*, but could not learn where his next halt was designed. The *Spanish* Captain told me, he had order to go no further than *Louvain*: so that I neither knew whither to go, nor could go any way without a guard, as they assured me at *Louvain*. Whereupon I sent immediately Mr. *Bulstrode*, who had come with me, from *Brussels*, to endeavour to find out the Prince, and desire him to appoint what time and place I should attend his Highness, which I resolved to do with those few servants I had brought with me, and such others as I could hire at *Louvain*, where I lay that night.

The next morning Mr. *Bulstrode* returned with the Prince's answer, that he was upon his march; that he should be very glad to see me, but could not possibly appoint either time or place for it, because his motions were uncertain, and would depend upon the advices he received. By which I found plainly what I had suspected at *Brussels*, that it was resolved I should not see the Prince before this campaign was begun by the actions then concerted among the confederates. I would not, however, seem to understand it so, nor any

any thing more in it than what his Highness was pleased to say; but I knew very well, that as they say none is more deaf than he that will not hear, so a man that will not be seen, may easily find ways of avoiding it, especially upon such circumstances as the Prince and I were then in, who must have followed the motions he would have given me: and therefore I resolved not to expose either his Majesty's character or credit, with his nephew, by making that public which had passed between the Prince and me upon this subject; but, pretending my health would not suffer me to follow the Prince upon his march, I returned to *Antwerp*, and gave his Majesty an account of all that had passed; who extremely approved my conduct in it, and that I pressed no further a point that I saw would not go, and that was taken by the Prince, as well as the Count *De Monterey*, so differently from what his Majesty expected.

I staid only a night at *Antwerp*, which passed with so great thunder and lightning, that I promised myself a very fair day after it, to go back to *Rotterdam* in the States yacht that still attended me. The morning proved so; but towards evening the sky grew foul, and the seamen presaged ill weather, and so resolved to lie at anchor before *Bergen-op-Zoom*, the wind being cross and little. When the night was fallen as black as ever I saw it, it soon began to clear up with the most violent flashes of lightning, as well as cracks of thunder, that I believe have ever been heard in our age and climate. This continued all night, and we felt such a fierce heat from every great flash of lightning, that the Captain apprehended it would fire his ship. But about eight the next morning the wind changed, and came up with so strong a gale, that we came to *Rotterdam* in about four hours, and there found all mouths full of the mischiefs and accidents that the last night's tempest had occasioned, both among the boats and the
houses.

houses, by the thunder, lightning, hail, or whirlwinds. But the day after came stories to the *Hague*, from all parts, of such violent effects as were almost incredible. At *Amsterdam* they were deplorable, many trees torn up by the roots, ships sunk in the harbour, and boats in the canals, houses beaten down; and several people were snatched from the ground as they walked the streets, and thrown into the canals. But all was silenced by the relations from *Utrecht*, where the great and ancient cathedral was torn in pieces by the violence of this storm; and the vast pillars of stone that supported it were wreathed like a twisted club, having been so strongly composed and cemented, as rather to suffer such a change of figure, than break in pieces as other parts of the fabric did; hardly any church of the town escaped the violence of this storm, and very few houses without the marks of it. Nor were the effects of it less astonishing by the relations from *France* and *Brussels*, where the damages were infinite, as well from whirlwinds, thunder, and lightning, as from hailstones of prodigious bigness.

At my return to the *Hague* I had long conversations with the Pensioner, by which I gained the lights necessary to discover the whole present scene of affairs, and pulses of the several confederates in what related to the general peace. I told him how much his Majesty was satisfied with that he had lately made with the States; how much he was resolved to continue and to cultivate it: how much reason he had to be content with the posture that had left him in a peace with all his neighbours, while they were all at war: that advantages of commerce from it were enough to make him trouble himself no further about the peace of Christendom, if his goodness and piety did not prevail more with him than his interests: but that these, and the desires of a general good, had persuaded him to offer his mediation in the present quarrels:
that

that it had been already accepted by *France*; and that the Emperor and *Spain* had answered, they would consider of it in concert with their allies: that the States Ambassadors at *London* had assured his Majesty their masters would be pleased with it, and doubted not their consent that the treaty should be at *London*; and that thereupon his Majesty had charged me with a letter to the States to offer them his mediation: that I could not doubt their accepting it with the best grace that could be, for I knew their interest was to have a peace, and not to disoblige the King: that if his Majesty were partial to any side, they ought to believe it would be to that wherein his own nephew was so deeply concerned; and the more, because he offered his offices towards a peace, at a time when the advantages and preparations for the war ran so high on the *French* side as he doubted the events might shew if it continued: that they knew his interest would not suffer him to see *Flanders* lost; and that, considering what had passed, his honour would not now suffer him to think of preserving it any other way than by that of a peace: that he would be glad to see that country left by the next peace in a better posture of defence than it was by the last, and the *Spanish* territories lie closer and rounder than they were then left: that, when this should be concluded, his Majesty would be ready to enter into the strongest guarantees they could desire, and might with honour enter into a war to preserve it, though he could not to obtain it. The Pensioner first gave me thanks for my good offices in the late peace, and in all the measures of friendship that had interceded between his Majesty and them since the first breach. He applauded the King's resolution in so pious and generous an offer, and acknowledged his interest might lead him to other dispositions: that he doubted not the States willingness to accept it; all the difference would be about the time and manner of doing it. As to this,

he

he said, they could not do it without the communication at least of their allies; but would immediately give them part of his Majesty's offer, and the States dispositions to receive it: that for the terms of a peace, as to their own parts, they would be content to make his Majesty the arbiter of it: that they had already recovered all the towns they had lost except *Grave* and *Maeſtricht*, the last of which was in some manner engaged to *Spain* when it should be recovered; and for the other, they doubted not to have a good account of it very soon, orders being already gone to invest it. But he doubted whether their allies would be so easy in their expectations or demands; and that it was impossible for the States to leave them who had saved their country from ruin, when two so great Kings had invaded them, or to break the treaties which they had made offensive with the Emperor, *Spain*, and *Brandenburg*: that the terms stipulated with *Spain* obliged them to reduce *France* to the treaty of the *Pyrenees*; but only a reserve was made by one article, which was, unless it should otherwise be agreed by consent between them: that whatever *Spain* would be content with should satisfy them; though they were both equally sensible of the designs and ambition of *France*, as well as of their ill talent to the States: that they could never hope for such another conjuncture, to reduce them to such bounds and measures as might be safe to their neighbours, and give quiet to Christendom: that it was now an ill time to enter into the terms of a peace between *France* and *Spain*, because he knew they should have ill grace to demand the restitution of any towns the *Spaniards* had lost in *Flanders* by the last war, and given up by the peace that succeeded it; and yet his Majesty knew, as well as they, that without it a peace could neither be safe for *Flanders*, nor for *Holland*, nor consequently for *England*. But he believed there would not pass many days

days before some decisive action would happen between the armies, now not far distant in the field, which would make room for the negotiation of peace that might succeed next winter, in which his Majesty would find the interests and humours of a trading country, as theirs was, very strong, and disposed to press their allies, as far as was possible, to facilitate so great and so good a work. And for the rest of the allies besides *Spain*, he had no reason to suspect any great difficulties would arise, so little having yet passed in the war between *France* and them.

The Pensioner was right in expecting some sudden action between the armies; for about the middle of *August* came the news of the battle of *Seneffe*, between the confederates under the command of the Prince of *Orange*, and the *French* under the Prince of *Conde*: but it proved not an action so decisive as was expected between two armies of so great force, and so animated by the hatred and revenge of the parties, as well as by the bravery and ambition of the commanders. The success of this fight was so differently reported by those engaged in it, that it was hard to judge of the victory, which each side challenged, and perhaps neither with any great reason. The confederates had for some days fought a battle with great desire and endeavour; and the *French* avoided it, with resolution not to fight unless upon evident advantage, whilst both armies lay near *Nivelle*, and not far distant from one another. The reason of this was thought to be, on one side, the ardour of the young Prince of *Orange* to make way, by a victory, into *France* itself, and there revenge the invasion of his country; and at the same time to make his first essay of a pitched battle, against so great and renowned a General as the Prince of *Conde*. On the other side, this old Captain had too much honour to lose, and thought he had not enough to gain, by entering the lists with a Prince of three and

twenty

twenty years old, bred up in the shade of a contrary faction, till he was forced into the field by the *French* invasion of his country. Nor was the advantage less on the *French* side in the reputation of their troops, than of their General; composed of excellent officers, chosen soldiers, exactly disciplined, long trained for action before they began it, and now flushed by the uninterrupted successes of two wars. But the *Dutch* troops, when the Prince of *Orange* entered upon the command, were old or lazy soldiers, disused with long peace, and disabled with young unskilful officers (chosen by no other merit, than that of a faction against the house of *Orange*) then filled up, when the war broke out, with hasty and undistinguished levies, and disheartened with perpetual losses of towns, and defeats of parties, during the two first campaigns. The Prince of *Conde* had another restraint upon the usual boldness of his nature on such occasions, which was the ill posture he had been in at Court since the King's reign, and in regard how much more he would have to answer for than another man upon any great misfortune to his army, which must have left the way open for the confederates to enter *France*, unguarded on that side by any strong frontier; so as no man knew what shake it might give to the greatness of that crown, with the help of so great and general discontents, whereof this Prince was thought to have his share.

Upon these dispositions in the Generals, the battle was for some time industriously sought and avoided; till the Prince of *Orange*, believing there was no way of coming to a battle, but by the siege of some place that might be thought worth the venture to relieve, broke up and marched away towards *Seneffe*; his army divided into three parts, whereof the *German* troops under the Count *De Souches* had the van, the *Spanish* under the Prince of *Vaudemont* the rear, and the *Dutch*

under Count *Waldeck* the main body; with whom the Prince marched, and commanded the whole confederate army.

The Prince of *Conde* observing their march, which was not far from one side of his intrenchments; and that, by the straitness of some passages they were forced to file off in small lines, staid till the vanguard and main body were over one of these passes; and the rear beginning to enter upon it; when he drew out his men, and fell with great fierceness upon the rear of the *Spaniards*, broke them with great slaughter, and not much resistance, took their baggage, several standards, and many prisoners of note. The Prince of *Orange*, upon notice of the *French* march towards the *Spanish* troops, had sent three squadrons back to their assistance, with all the diligence that could be; but the *Spaniards*, already broken, brought the *Dutch* into disorder by falling in among them; and the *French* pursuing with great bravery, broke the *Dutch* squadron to pieces, killing or taking all their commanders and several standards.

If the Prince of *Conde* had contented himself with this success and execution, he had left no dispute of a victory; but, lured on by the hopes of one more intire, and belief, the *Dutch*, whom he esteemed the worst troops, would not stand, after the *Spaniards*, and a great part of their own, were wholly routed, he followed the chace, and, drawing out his whole army upon them, brought it to a set battle, which was more than he intended. In the mean time the Prince of *Orange* marching to the relief of the *Spaniards*, and the squadrons he had sent, was at first enveloped by his own flying men, whom he could neither stop by words nor blows, by promises nor reproaches; till joining the rest of his own forces that stood firm, and the Imperialists coming up to enforce them, the battle began with as great fury as any has been fought in the whole course

course of the wars, continued so for about eight hours till sun-set, and about two hours after by moon-light, till, that failing too, the fight ended, rather by the obscurity of the night, than the weariness or weakness of either side. The Prince of *Orange*, in the whole course of this action, gave all orders with such prudence, and observance of all advantages, led up his several squadrons with that bravery, made such bold stands against his own broken troops, as well as against the fierceness of their pursuers, for six hours together in the hottest of the fire; sometimes charging into the midst of the enemies, sometimes overborn by his own that fled, till he rallied them and led them back to the charge; exposed to more danger than most private soldiers in the field; so that the old Count *De Souches*, in his letter to the States upon this occasion, told them, That, *in the whole course of the action, the Prince had shewed the conduct of an old experienced commander, and the valour of a Cæsar*: and indeed his allies, his friends, and his enemies agreed, in giving him equal glory from this adventure. But he had more from none than from the Prince of *Conde's* testimony, That *he had done like an old Captain in all, but only in venturing himself too much like a young man*. Yet this old General had done the same in this day's action, as much as the youngest Cavalier in his army could do, when he found the battle fought so desperately, and all at stake; whereas 'tis certain, that nothing could have given vigour to the *Dutch* troops, after the first rout, but the repeated examples and dangers of the Prince, and shame of not following such a leader in all the desperate charges he made that day, which both the Generals seemed resolved to die rather than to lose.

As the numbers were not much different when the fight began, so were those esteemed that fell in this battle, and to reach to about six or seven thousand on
either

either side; but, of the *French*, many more officers and gentlemen than was usual, in proportion to the common soldiers. When the night parted the armies, the *French* retired back to their former quarters, and next morning the confederates marched to that which they designed when they broke up the day before. The allies claimed the victory, because they were left upon the field; and the *French*, upon carrying away the greatest number of prisoners and standards: but whoever had the honour, they both felt the loss.

After the repair necessary in each camp upon this sharp encounter, each army took the field again, and gave a general expectation of another battle before the campaign ended: the Prince of *Orange* fought it all he could; but the Prince of *Conde* chose and fortified his encampments so, as not to be forced to one without apparent disadvantages, and contented himself to observe the motions of the allies, to preserve the towns of the *French conquests* in *Flanders*, and prevent any invasion of *France*, which was designed this summer with great confidence by the confederate armies, both on this side and that in *Alsace*, but with equal disappointment; unless it were to Monsieur *Staremburg*, who, in the beginning of the campaign, complaining of the wine at the Prince's table, the Prince told them, *He would make them drink good wine in Champagne before the summer ended.* He, who loved it well, desired the Prince to be as good as his word; was afterwards taken at the battle of *Seneffe*, and carried to *Rheims*, with several *Dutch* officers; where, sitting down to dinner, and finding the wine excellent, he drank the Prince's health, and said, *He would trust him as long as he lived; for he had kept his word, and made them drink good wine in Champagne.*

The Prince of *Orange* finding no other way of action, sat down before *Oudenarde* in *September*; and had

his end of drawing the Prince of *Conde* out of his cautious marches, who came immediately to relieve it, and fight the allies before they were ready to give an assault to the town. Upon sight of the *French* army, the Prince of *Orange* called a council of war, and proposed to draw out and attack them immediately, before they were rested after their hard day's march. The *Spaniards* were content, but Count *De Souches* would not agree to it; and so this occasion was lost, and with such discontent among the chief officers, that next day the *Germans* left the trenches, and marched away about a league, and left room to the *French* to put what relief they pleased into the town. Upon this, the Prince of *Orange* was forced to rise too, with the rest of his army; and upon conferences with the Count *De Monterey*, as well as *De Souches*, resolved to leave the greatest part of the *Dutch* forces with the Count, and with the rest to go himself, and press the siege of *Grave*. And here began those dissensions among the chief Captains of the confederates, that continued to ruin their designs, and proved so fatal to them in the whole course of the war; and, against all appearances, made good the *Spanish* proverb, that, *Liga nunca coge grandes paxaros*; [*Birdlime never catches great birds*;] the same word signifying a league and birdlime, and meaning, that as this never catches great birds, so the t'other never makes great conquests, though it often does great defences: yet these first divisions were endeavoured to be cured, by the Emperor's recalling the Count *De Souches*, and *Spain* the Count *De Monterey*, who were both thought to have maimed the actions of this campaign, or, at least, not to have seconded, as they might have done, the Prince of *Orange*'s vigour, in pursuing them to other sorts of successes than it ended with. The Prince, having failed of what he proposed in favour of the *Spaniards*,

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was resolved to free his own country from the last mark of their intended servitude, before this season ended. *Grave* was the last town the *French* held in any of the Seven Provinces, and had been kept as a magazine both of what had been taken in the other places, and was not easily carried away when they quitted them; so as there was above three hundred pieces of canon in the town, a very full and brave garrison, composed of the best troops, and all that could be added to the fortifications of the place, after the *French* took it, tho' it was before counted one of the best the *Dutch* had. It had been invested a month before; yet the Prince found the siege but little advanced at his arrival; and the *Dutch* soldiers so rebuted with the brave defence from within, that nothing could have carried the place at this season, being about the middle of *October*, when the Prince arrived, but the same humour of leading on his men himself whenever they shrunk, which can never be too much praised, nor too much blamed in this Prince; because, as his country and allies would have had no General had they lost him, so they would have had no army if they had not ventured him. In short, by this, and his usual application and vigour, as well as the common methods of such sieges, he took *Grave* by the end of *October*, with equal glory to himself, and satisfaction to all the Provinces; and returned to the *Hague* about the middle of *November*, after having disposed his forces into their winter-quarters.

With the Prince of *Orange* returned most of the general officers to the *Hague*, and among the rest old Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, who, as the Prince told me, had, with the greatest industry that could be, sought all occasions of dying fairly at the battle of *Senesse*, without succeeding, which had given him great regret; and I did not wonder at it, considering his age, of about seventy six, and his long habits both of
gout

gout and stone. When he came to visit me upon his return, and before he went to his government of *Cleves*, it came in my head to ask him an idle question, because I thought it not very likely for me to see him again, and I had a mind to know, from his own mouth, the account of a common, but much credited story, that I had heard so often from many others, of an old parrot he had in *Brasil*, during his government there, that spoke, and asked and answered common questions like a reasonable creature; so that those of his train there, generally concluded it to be witchery or possession; and one of his chaplains, who lived long afterwards in *Holland*, would never from that time endure a parrot, but said, they all had a devil in them. I had heard many particulars of this story, and assevered by people hard to be discredited, which made me ask Prince *Maurice* what there was in it? he said, with his usual plainness, and dryness in talk, there was something true, but a great deal false, of what had been reported. I desired to know of him what there was of the first? he told me short and coldly, that he had heard of such an old parrot when he came to *Brasil*; and though he believed nothing of it, and it was a good way off, yet he had so much curiosity as to send for it; that 'twas a very large and a very old one; and when it came first into the room where the Prince was, with a great many *Dutchmen* about him, it said presently, *What a company of white men are here?* They asked what he thought that man was, pointing at the Prince? it answered, *some General or other*. When they brought it close to him, he asked it, *D'ou venez vous?* [*whence come you?*] it answered, *De Maragnan*, [from Maragnan.] The Prince, *A qui estes vous?* [To whom do you belong?] The parrot, *A un Portugais*. [To a Portuguese.] The Prince, *Que fais-tu là?* [What do you there?] The parrot, *Je garde les poulets*. [I look after the chickens.] The Prince laughed,

ed, and said, *Vous gardez les poulets ?* [*You look after the chickens ?* The parrot answered, *Ouy moy, & je le sçay bien faire ;* [*Yes I, and I know how to do it well ;*] and made the chuck four or five times, that people use to make to chickens, when they call them. I set down the words of this worthy dialogue in *French*, just as Prince *Maurice* said them to me. I asked him, in what language the parrot spoke? and he said, in *Brasilian*. I asked, whether he understood *Brasilian*? he said, no; but he had taken care to have two interpreters by him, one a *Dutchman* that spoke *Brasilian*, and t'other a *Brasilian* that spoke *Dutch*: That he asked them separately and privately, and both of them agreed in telling him just the same thing as the parrot said. I could not but tell this odd story, because it is so much out of the way, and from the first hand, which may well pass for a good one; for I dare say, this Prince at least believed himself, in all he told me, having ever passed for a very honest and pious man. I leave it to naturalists to reason, and to other men to believe as they please upon it: however, it is not perhaps amiss to relieve or enliven a busy scene sometimes with such digressions, whether to the purpose or not.

Before I enter upon the negotiations of the following winter, it will be necessary to give a short view of the actions of the several armies, and dispositions of the parties in other places, as well as in the *Low-Countries*, since all contributed to the different humours that appeared at the *Hague* about the peace, which was indeed the present scene of that affair, as well from his Majesty's mediation, as the great weight of the States in the confederacy; but chiefly from the person of the Prince of *Orange*, who seemed to be the spirit or genius of the whole alliance, and for whom the rest, as well as the States themselves, had so great a trust and deference: for several of their ministers made no difficulty to tell me upon many occasions, that their ma-
sters

sters would not have entered into the present engagements they were in, had it not been more upon the confidence they had of the Prince's personal honour and justice, than either the forces or the usual conduct of the States-General, especially in what concerned the foreign treaties and negotiations.

In *Rouffillon* little passed of importance between the forces there: The thoughts of both crowns were bent on that side more upon reducing or relieving *Messina*, that had made an absolute revolt from *Spain*, and endeavoured to gain protection from *France*, which was not difficult in this conjuncture; as that which might not only give a great diversion to the *Spanish* forces, but open a way for the *French* into the conquest of *Sicily*, and new designs upon *Naples*, which had been the stage of so many great wars between the houses of *France* and *Arragon*.

In *Germany* the Prince-Electors *Palatine*, *Mentz*, and *Triers*, had entered into league with the Emperor for the defence of the *German* liberty against all strangers. *France* was so enraged against the Elector *Palatine* upon these measures he had taken, that *Mons. De Turenne*, at the head of a *French* army, marched into their country, and made such cruel ravages in it, and so unusual to that General's common procedures, that the Elector sent him a challenge; which *Monsieur De Turenne* answered he could not accept without his master's leave, but was ready to meet him in the field at the head of his army, against any that he and his new allies would bring together.

This Prince, spited at the helpless ruin of his country, proved the greater incentive among the *German* Princes this summer, to join their forces, in order to some vigorous action against *France* on that side. The Duke of *Lunenburg* engaged first, and afterwards the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in the common cause of the empire's being invaded; *Straßburg* was prevailed with

to throw off the neutrality they had enjoyed since the war began, and declare for the empire in this quarrel. The new Bishop of *Munster* entered into the same measures, and, all together, made a considerable force, that they brought into the field, on the other side the *Rhine*, about the end of *August*, or beginhing of *September*. The old Duke of *Lorraine* joined them with his troops: the Duke of *Lunenburg* was there in person; and the elector *Palatine* had the command of the army. They were divided, as well as the Imperial officers, whether they should enter upon any considerable action or no till the Duke of *Brandenburg* came up, who was upon his march at the head of a very considerable army, that joined the confederates in *October*. This gave great hopes and designs of entering either *Lorraine* or *Burgundy*, or taking *Brisac*, or at least *Zaberne* and *Haguenau*, and thereby securing their winter-quarters in *Alsace*. Monsieur *De Turenne* played a defensive game, with a small army, and ill handled by the sickness of the season. *France* was at such a pinch for men, or fear of an irruption into their country from *Flanders* or *Alsace*, that they called their ban and arriere ban, the assembling whereof had been long disused, and in a manner antiquated. However, with some of these new troops, and a reinforcement from *Flanders*, after the battle of *Seneffe*, Monsieur *De Turenne*, by plain force of skill, and that admirable science in the conduct of a war, which no Captain of his age could dispute with him, prevented and disappointed every one of the confederates designs, without ever coming to a set battle, tho' not without several sharp fights of part of the forces, upon necessity or advantage: so that the winter ended with the allies quitting the last point they pretended, and would have been indeed decisive in the issue of this campaign, which was the *German* army's quartering in *Alsace*, and other parts on that side the *Rhine*.

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The most considerable loss, or event of this campaign upon the *Rhine*, was the death of the young Prince of *Brandenburg*, who died about the end of it at *Strasburg*, of a fever so violent and precipitate, as gave occasion for the usual suspicions and discourses that attend the death of such young Princes, as give great hopes and fears to their enemies and friends. This was the more considered for a particular and intimate friendship between him and the Prince of *Orange*, who, though cousin-germans, and engaged in one common cause, were yet nearer joined by likeness of humours than of interest, and by the ties of personal kindness than of blood; and I never knew the Prince of *Orange* more sensible of any misfortune that happened to him than of this.

In all the encounters mentioned on this side, no forces were oftener seen or more felt, or gained more honour for their firmness and bravery, than the *English* regiments still remaining in the *French* service, to whom the *Germans* attributed wholly Monsieur *De Turenne's* successes, as he did a great deal himself. But the divisions among the Princes, that made up the confederate armies, may justly be said to have had all the merit that was not personal in Monsieur *De Turenne*; who was certainly allowed by all that compared them to be the greatest Captain by much of his age, in the course of a war or conduct of a campaign; though the Prince of *Conde* was thought greater in a day of battle, both as to the disposition and order of an army, vigorous enterprize, and sharp, as well as pertinent resolutions, upon all sudden emergencies, to which the course and chance of a battle is every way subject.

For *Sweden* and *Denmark*, they were not yet entered into the lists, but seemed now upon the point of taking party. *Sweden* had acted the part of a mediator ever since the breaking up of the treaty at *Cologne*, both by their Ambassador at *Vienna* and the *Hague*, who plied both

both these Courts with very long and frequent memorials to that purpose during this whole summer; but they had been as hard plied themselves all that time by the practices and advantages offered by *France*, both to that Crown, and the chief Ministers, to engage them in the war. Nothing seemed so likely to determine them; as the treaty and expedition of the Duke of *Brandenburg* on the confederate side, which laid open his country to the invasion of *Sweden*, and gave them a pretence of a breach, in that Prince, of the treaties between them, in making war against *France* without the consent of the *Swedes*. Therefore, as soon as he was gone towards the *Rhine* with all the strength of his forces, the *Swedes* drew the best and greatest part of theirs into *Pomerania*; and as the Duke of *Brandenburg* advanced in the common designs against *France*; so *Sweden*, without declaring war, pursued their measures with that Crown, and before the end of the year had drawn their forces into the *Brandenburg* country, though without attempt upon any places, and even with pretence at first of paying for their quarters, which was reckoned upon as short-liv'd among soldiers in another Prince's country, whether friend or enemy. The present effect of this inroad, was the ending of another pretence of that Crown, which was that of mediation, and so devolving that figure wholly upon his Majesty; and on the other side giving hopes to the confederates of engaging *Denmark* on their side, if, for no other reason, yet upon that old one among them, of being always opposite to *Sweden*, and their interest or allies.

As soon as the Prince came to the *Hague* I attended him, and, after compliments passed, I acquainted him with what his Majesty had commanded me of his personal kindness and esteem for his Highness; of his resolutions to observe and cultivate his present friendship with the States, and desire to see a general peace restored

restored to *Christendom*, in which he intended to act wholly in concert with his Highness, whose opinion as to the thing, and the conditions most necessary for his Highness to insist on, he very much desired to understand as soon and as fully as he could. The Prince answered me with expressions of duty and kindness to his Majesty, and desires of a near conjunction between the two nations, which he thought alone could make his Majesty safe at home and abroad. For the peace, he said, though he could make many complaints of the conduct both of the *Spaniards* and *Imperialists* since their treaties; yet the States could not, with any faith or honour, make a separate peace, upon any terms that *France* could offer them: that a general peace could not be made without leaving *Flanders* in a posture of defending itself upon any new or sudden invasion, against which no guarantees could secure it: that *Spain* could not, upon any exchange, quit the county of *Burgundy*, nor *Cambray*, nor any thing in *Flanders* beyond the treaty of the *Pyrenees*, unless it were *Aire* and *St. Omer*. This, he said, was his opinion; but if he might know the King's, and find it at all consistent with the safety of his country, and his own honour towards his allies, he would do all he could to bring it about, as he had already done the point of his Majesty's mediation, which was accepted both at *Madrid* and *Vienna*. I told him, that, the King having been author and guarantee of the peace at *Aix*, and not having yet seen the *French* beaten out of any town that was given them by that treaty, could with ill grace propose any thing to *France* beyond those terms, unless it were upon some equivalent. He replied resolutely, 'Twere better going on with the war, let it last as long, and cost as much as it would: that his Majesty might, if he pleased, induce *France* to whatever he thought just; and could never shew him so much kindness, as to bring him out of this war with honour;

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if he would not, it must go on till some change happened in the condition of the parties, to make the peace more necessary on one side or other; how it would fall out he could not tell, and must leave to God; but he thought they had as fair a game as the *French*: that he was sure they might have been absolutely beaten at *Seneffe*, if the Count *De Souches* had so pleased, and have had a fair blow for it again at *Oudenarde*: that he was sure *Germany* could furnish more and better men than *France*, and they were now in a manner united in the common defence; and he hoped the Emperor's counsels and conduct would not be so betrayed as they had been: that, however, he must perform what his own honour, as well as that of the States, was engaged in to their allies, let it cost what it would.

I imagined in what he said of the Emperor's counsels, he reflected upon the business of Prince *Lakowitz*, whose disgrace made so great noise about this time, and with particulars so extraordinary of the *French* practices in that Court, that they were very hard to believe, and very uncertain to know at that distance, and even at *Vienna* itself; and therefore I would not enter into them with the Prince, nor shall I here, as being foreign to this present scene.

There was one point more I entered into with the Prince, which was upon occasion of the many discontented persons in *England*, at the course of the last ministry and war, who were suspected to have truckled, at least with *Holland*, about raising seditions, and perhaps insurrections in *England*, if the war continued, and the *Dutch* fleets should appear upon our coasts, which were like to be unguarded, the next summer, by the straits his Majesty was in for money to set out a fleet. It was believed, among many others, my Lord *Sbastbury* was one that had of late played this game; who, having been as deep as any man in the
counsels

counsels of the cabal, and gone so far in the public applause of them, as, in a speech in Parliament, to have applied the *delenda Carthago*, [*Carthage must be destroyed,*] to our interest in the destruction of *Holland*; yet when he saw the Parliament and nation fullen upon it, and that the King could not pursue it with so much ill humour in both, he turned short upon the court and the rest of the cabal, fell in with the popular humour in the city, as well as Parliament, decried the present designs and conduct, though with the loss of his Chancellor's place, and was believed to manage a practice in *Holland* for some insurrection here. I told the Prince, what the King suspected of some of his subjects, without naming any; how much service it would be to his Majesty to know them more certainly, and how kind it would be in his Highness to discover them. The Prince was stanch, and said, he was sure the King would not press him upon a thing so much against all honour, as to betray men that professed to be his friends. I gave his Majesty an account of all that passed between the Prince and me, which was thought at court both cold to his Majesty, and stiff as to the peace; and I had no returns or orders upon it; but within a week or ten days I had notice, that my Lord *Arlington* and my Lord *Ossory* intended to make a turn into *Holland*, with Monsieur *Odyke* and his two sisters, to make a visit to their friends at the *Hague*; and, about the beginning of *December*, they arrived in the King's yachts, but without any sort of character, or show of business.

My Lord *Arlington* brought me a letter from the King, written all with his own hand; and telling me he had sent him to set right some important points between his Majesty and the Prince, which ought not to lie longer in doubt, recommending to me all the assistance I could give him, and assuring me of his Majesty's confidence and kindness. His Lordship brought
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the most ample credential likewise, that could be, from his Majesty to the Prince, who still gave me part of all that passed between them, with as much openness and freedom, as the other did with coldness and reserve; and thereby lent me many lights that I could not otherwise have had, to discover the mystery of this journey and affair, which was, in great part, a secret to my Lord Treasurer himself, whom yet his Majesty was thought to trust, at that time, as much as he had ever done any of his Ministers.

My Lord *Arlington*, who had been at the head of those measures that the King entered into during the ministry of the cabal, and the war with *Holland*, in conjunction with *France*, found himself something discredited with his master upon the ill issue of that affair, and the necessities which forced him to a separate peace, both from the wants of his treasury, and discontents of his Parliament and people in general. By the degrees this Lord's favour declined, the Earl of *Danby's* increased, who succeeded my Lord *Clifford* in the treasury, which had ever been my Lord *Arlington's* ambition. This gave him an implacable envy and hatred against my Lord *Danby*; which no offices of friendship could ever allay. He was not well with the nation for having had such a part in breaking the course of the triple alliance, and making that with *France*, for the ruin of *Holland*, and, as was commonly thought, for some ends more displeasing at home. Yet, when the ill humour of the Parliament had broken the designs of the cabal, and made my Lord *Shaftsbury* shift his sails, and fall into the popular stream, my Lord *Arlington* had gone so far upon the same scent, as to join with the Duke of *Ormond* and Secretary *Coventry*, to persuade the King to remove the Duke wholly from court and public business, as a means to appease the discontents of the Parliament, upon some jealousies the late conduct of affairs had raised among them.

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By this counsel, my Lord *Arlington* had very much offended the Duke; and, finding himself ill with his Royal Highness, with the Parliament, and every day declining in credit with the King, he thought there was no way of retrieving his game, but by making himself the instrument of some secret and close measures that might be taken between the King and the Prince of *Orange*. He first infused into his Majesty the necessity and advantage of such a negotiation, and then that of his being employed in it, from the interest his Lady's friends and kindred in *Holland* would be able to give him, as well as from the credit of having been so long in the secret of the King's affairs, and so best able to give them such colours as might render the late conduct of them less disagreeable to the Prince. Though he professed great friendship to me, yet he represented me as unlikely to be treated with such a confidence from the Prince as was requisite in this affair, for having been so intimate with Monsieur *De Wit*, in my former embassy; and gave the Prince's unwillingness to see me during the campaign, as a testimony of his dislike, or, at least, indifferency to me. He proposed going over with all the auxiliaries that were like to be of any succour in this expedition, carrying not only my Lady *Arlington*, but Madam *Beverwaert* her sister, who had something in her humour and conversation very agreeable to the Prince; Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, who took himself to be in great credit in that court, where he had served long, and particularly with Monsieur *Bentink*; nor was it forgot to carry over Dr. *Durel*, as a man fit to practise Monsieur *De Marest*, a *French* minister, who was thought to have credit with the Prince; and my Lord *Offory* was known to have a great part in his kindness and esteem, as well from his marriage into the *Beverwaert* family, as from his bravery, so much applauded in all actions where he

had been, which was a quality loved by the Prince, though employed against him.

My Lord *Danby* had been made to believe, that a letter from the Prince to Monsieur *Odyke*, then one of the *Dutch* ambassadors in *England*, had given occasion for this journey, as if the Prince had desired some person there from the King, with whom he might enter into the last confidence; but the Prince assured me there was no such thing, and that Monsieur *de Ruigny*, the *French* Minister at *London*, had more part in this journey than he, or perhaps any body else; and that all the endeavours, used towards a peace, came from that side.

However instructed, at least thus accompanied, my Lord *Arlington* came to the *Hague*; where he told me, at our first meeting, that he came over to set right some things, between the King and the Prince, that he doubted were amiss; and to settle a perfect kindness and confidence between them for the time to come: that to do this he must go to the bottom of the fore, and rake into things past, which was an unpleasant work, and which I could not do, as having no part in the King's business during that time wherein the Prince took his offence at our counsels: that the King had chosen him for this office, because he could best justify his Majesty's intentions towards his Highness, in the whole course of that affair: that for the peace, though his Majesty desired it, yet he would not meddle in it, unless the Prince of himself made any overtures about it, but would only endeavour to give the Prince what lights he could, as to the state of things in general, and what he might hope from his allies, as well as from *France*: that, if the Prince made no advances to him upon it, he would let it fall, and leave it in my hands, to be pursued by the orders I should receive: that he knew very well, such a commission as his, might look unkind, if not injurious to another Ambassador,

bassador, and that he would not have come if any other had been here ; but the King, as well as he, reckoned so far upon the friendship between us, that they were both confident of my being easy in it, and giving him any assistance he should want from me, which he would acquaint me with as the matter proceeded. He said besides, That, after having fought the King's battle with the Prince, he must fight another of his own, who did not deserve the coldness his Highness had of late expressed to him ; and when this was done, all his business was ended here, and the rest would be only seeing his friends, and finding some diversions from a new scene : that he desired I would, according to the forms, bring him and my Lord Ossory, the first time, to the Prince, and after that they would see him no more in ceremony, nor give me that trouble.

I told his Lordship I was very glad to see him, let his business be what it would : that I should be gladder yet that the King's business should be done, let it be by whom it would, but much more that it might be by him : that for setting matters right between the King and the Prince, I thought it the best office could be done them both : that for the way he mentioned of raking into the sore, and fighting battles in defence or justification of what was past, I knew not what to say to it, but would leave it to his own prudence ; but from what I knew in particular, of the Prince's humour and thoughts, whatever he did of that sort, I believed, should be very gentle, and not go too deep ; and, for my own part, was always of opinion, that *expostulations were very apt to end well between lovers, but ill between friends* : that I would send to the Prince for an hour ; and, when I had brought him to his Highness, I would leave him there after the first entrances were past, and desired no other part in this affair, than what he thought necessary to give me ; whenever he did, I should serve him the best I could, in so good
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an endeavour; and for the rest, I should leave the field free to my Lord *Offory* and him, while they staid at the *Hague*, as to all that was secret: As to the rest, I desired they would make what use they pleased of me and my house.

My Lord *Arlington* took all I said very well; said, it was not necessary I should leave them, after I had introduced them to the Prince, but in such a manner as I saw he would not dislike it, or have any body thought to have any part in the successes he expected; so next morning I brought them to the Prince, and, after a quarter of an hour's stay, left them together. The Prince would have had me stay, but my Lord *Arlington* said not a word; and I pretended some letters pressed me, and so went away, and never saw them together any more while they staid at the *Hague*, unless at dinner, or in mixed and public company.

The truth is, I was not the worse entertained, during the course of this adventure; for my Lord *Arlington* told me every day what he thought fit, of all that passed between them; and the Prince told me, not only the thing, but the manner of it, which was more important than the matter itself; for this had no effect, but the other a great deal, and that lasted long. My Lord *Arlington* told me much of his expostulations, and with what good turns of wit he had justified both the King's part, in the late war, and his own; but that upon all he found the Prince dry and fullen, or, at the best, uneasy, and as if he wished it ended: that upon discourse of the state of *Christendom*, and what related to the war he was engaged in; he made him no overtures at all, nor entered further, than that the King might bring him out of it with honour if he pleased, and with safety to *Christendom*; if not, it must go on till the fortunes of the parties changing, made way for other thoughts, than he believed either of them had at this time: that this might hap-
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pen after another campaign, which none but his Majesty could prevent, by inducing *France* to such terms as he thought just and safe for the rest of *Christendom*.

This was the sum of what my Lord *Arlington* pretended to have passed in three long conferences; after which it grew so uneasy between them, that he told me he had absolutely given it over, and would not say a word more of business while he was there, and attended his Majesty's orders, after the return of his dispatches, but would divert himself in the mean time as well as he could, see the Prince as often as he pleased at dinner, or in company, but ask it no more in private, unless the Prince, of himself, desired it; and, upon the whole, gave all the signs of being equally disappointed and discontented with the success of this undertaking.

The Prince, on the other side, told me with what arrogance and insolence my Lord *Arlington* had entered upon all his expostulations with him, both upon the King's chapter and his own: that it was not only in the discourses of it, as if he pretended to deal with a child, that he could by his wit make believe what he pleased; but in the manner he said all upon that subject, it was as if he had taken himself for the Prince of *Orange*, and him for my Lord *Arlington*: that all he said was so artificial, and giving such false colours to things every body knew, that he that was a plain man could not bear it, and was never so weary of any conversation in his life. In short, all the Prince told me upon it looked spited at my Lord *Arlington*, and not very much satisfied with the King's intentions upon this errand; though he said he was sure his Majesty never intended he should treat it in the manner he had, if he remembered that he was his nephew, though nothing else.

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After the first conversations, my Lord *Arlington* staid near six weeks in *Holland*, either upon contrary winds to return his dispatches, or to carry him away, often at dinner with the Prince at Court, or at Count *Waldeck's*, or Monsieur *Odyke's*, or with me, putting on the best humuor and countenance, affecting the figure of one that had nothing of business in his head, or in the design of this journey, but at heart weary of his stay in *Holland*, and unwilling to return with no better account of his errand; and, as it proved, he had reason for both.

I found the Pensioner and Count *Waldeck* thought, that the bent of my Lord *Arlington* was to draw the Prince into such measures of a peace as *France* then so much desired; into a discovery of those persons who had made advances to the Prince or the States of raising commotions in *England* during the late war; into secret measures with the King of assisting him against any rebels at home, as well as enemies abroad; and into the hopes or designs of a match with the Duke's eldest daughter: though they said he found the Prince would not enter at all into the first, was obstinate against the second, treated the third as a disrespect to the King, to think he could be so ill beloved, or so imprudent, to need it; and, upon mention made of the last by my Lord *Ossory*, he took no further hold of it than saying, *his fortunes were not in a condition for him to think of a wife.*

Thus ended this mystical journey, which I have the rather unveiled, because, perhaps, no other could do it; nor I, without so many several lights from so many several hands; and because, though it brought forth no present fruits; yet seeds were then scattered, out of which sprung afterwards some very great events.

My Lord *Arlington* returned, was received but coldly by the King, and ill by the Duke, who was angry that

that any mention had been made of the Lady *Mary*, though it was done only by my Lord *Ossory*, and whether with order from the King, or not, was not known: so as never any strain of court-skill and contrivance succeeded so unfortunately as this had done, and so contrary to all the ends the author of it proposed to himself. Instead of advancing the peace, he left it desperate; instead of establishing a confidence between the King and the Prince, he left all colder than he found it; instead of entering into great personal confidence and friendship with the Prince, he left an unkindness that lasted ever after; instead of retrieving his own credit at Court, which he found waning upon the increase of my Lord *Danby's*, he made an end of all he had left with the King, who never after used him with any confidence further than the forms of his place; and found my Lord Treasurer's credit with the King more advanced in six weeks he had been away, than it had done in many months before.

Whatever was the occasion, *France* had this winter an extreme desire of a peace; and left no way unattempted to obtain it, that might not too much discover the need they had of it. I suppose they might apprehend what the confederates reckoned upon, with perhaps too much assurance; that, if they could gain one battle, they should certainly enter *France*; and, if ever they did; the ill humours grown under this late government would certainly break out, and make way for all the successes and ravages they proposed to themselves; or, at least, for such terms of a peace as would leave all the neighbours of that Crown in safety and quiet. A talk was set on foot of a marriage between *Monsieur's* eldest daughter and the King of *Spain*, in the heat of the war: a suspension of arms was proposed at *Vienna* by Count *Oxenstiern* the *Swedish* Ambassador; and the sending Plenipotentiaries immediately after to treat the peace, with offers, in case this
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were agreed to, that the affair of Prince *William* of *Furtemberg* should be respited till the end of the treaty, and passports should be granted for the Duke of *Lorain's* Ministers, upon which difficulties had been made: practices were used with the Princes of *Brandenburg* and *Lunenbourg*, to disjoin them from the common alliance. and a particular intelligence was held between the Marshal *D'Estrades* and one who had been Pensioner of *Maestricht*, who communicated all his letters to the Pensioner *Fagel*: but the sum of all was instances for a separate peace between *France* and *Holland*; a breach of their measures with the house of *Austria*, and return of the old ones with *France*, towards which they offered all the advantages that could be to the States in point of commerce, and all the personal ones that could be desired by a Prince of *Orange*.

But the Prince was unmoveable in the point of not leaving his allies; though he began to foresee he was like to play a hard game with them next summer in the field, and perhaps a harder with the people at home, who grew impatient for a peace, both upon the cruel taxes the war had raised, and upon the present decay of trade, as well as apprehension, that, with longer continuance of the war, it would run so far into a new channel by *England* as never to be retrieved. Upon these considerations the Prince resolved to make one effort towards a peace with honour before this season ended, and made all further thoughts of it give way to the actions of the approaching campaign. His scheme was this, That a match should be made between the King of *Spain* and *Mademoiselle*: that *France* should give with her in dowry the late conquered places in *Flanders*: that the King should make this match, and upon these terms: and that he should have two hundred thousand pounds for his good offices in it. By this means a peace would be made with safety to *Spain* and

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to *Holland*, by securing again the frontiers of *Flanders*; with honour to *France*, who parted with the conquered towns only as dowry to a daughter of *France*; without any blemish to the Prince's honour or faith in his alliances; and with honour and profit both to his Majesty, which last was thought no unwelcome circumstance at that time in our court.

This the Prince and Pensioner having digested the best way they could, and deduced to me, desired me to propose to the King; as the only way of making the peace he so much desired; as a thing they were sure he could do, and that *France* could not deny him if he would press it; and as the last degree of favour his Majesty could express to the Prince, who could no other way come out of this war with honour. They desired me to write it to the King himself, and that nothing might be said of it to any other person, till his Majesty should return me his opinion upon it.

I did so by two letters to the King, but had no hopes given me that it would be effected: Whether *France* took the desires of the Prince for an argument of his being weary of the war, or that he found the people were so; or whether they would not end the war, without breaking the force and confidence of the present alliance, or (as the Prince thought) without leaving *Flanders* open for another invasion, when some better conjuncture should make way for it; or whether the revolt of *Messina* had given them hopes of disabling *Spain*, by drawing their forces on that side, and disposing them to a peace by this wound in a part so tender, and that might spread so far into *Italy*; or whether they had now absolutely engaged the Crown of *Sweden* to enter into the war, and believed that, by the impression that Crown would make in *Pomerania*, they might not only recal the Duke of *Brandenburg* and his forces from the *Rhine*, but, if they succeeded, might so alarm the empire on that side, as to break,

or very much weaken any conjunction of their forces next summer on this side the *Rhine*. However it was, this attempt of the Prince failed, and so all further thoughts of a present peace ended, and left me only to pursue the cold scent of a mediation in the common forms, while the preparations were making on all sides for a warm summer in the field.

The Prince this *February*, went into *Gelderland*, to establish the new magistracy there, according to his office of Stadtholder. Whilst he was there, the deputies of that Province, by unanimous consent, made him an offer of the sovereignty of that country, with the ancient title of *Duke of Gelderland*, which they pretended had been formerly in some of his ancestors. The Prince said, *He would give them no answer upon an affair of such moment, without first advising with the other Provinces.* He immediately writ to those of *Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht*, to communicate this offer to them, and demand their advice upon it. *Zealand* returned theirs against his accepting it; grounding it upon the jealousies it might raise in the other Provinces, and inconsistency of it with the constitutions of their union, which left none of the Provinces at liberty to dispose of their sovereignty without consent of the rest. *Utrecht* returned their answer with advice to accept it. *Holland* was longer, depending upon the delays necessary in running the circle of so many towns: so that, before it was concluded, the Prince, upon receiving the advice of *Utrecht*, returned them immediately his answer, with notice, that he had excused himself to the States of *Gelderland*, from accepting the offer they had made him.

Nothing could more employ the busy heads of this time, than the course of this affair; some attributing it to the ambition of the Prince, and presaging the same design upon the rest of the Provinces; others laying it to the charge of some of his young counsellors; others

thers to a design of founding the humour of the Provinces, and of having the honour to refuse it, after they should all have advised him to accept it, as 'twas believed they would do. For my own part, I can say nothing of it with certainty, having never seen the Prince while it was upon the anvil, nor discoursed with him upon this subject either before or after: but if it were an ambition bent upon the sovereignty of the rest of the Provinces, as well as *Gelderland*, it was a design very different from all his proceedings in the course of the war, when *France* had propos'd it to him with all the advantages and support that could be; and as different from what he had ever seem'd to understand, and to be as much perswaded of as any man, That a sovereign Prince in *Holland* would certainly and soon ruin the trade, and consequently the riches and greatness of that State, and leave a Prince of it without power or consideration in the world; whereas the Princes of *Orange*, in the post they have held for four generations, have entered into wars and treaties with a regard and weight equal to most of the Kings of Christendom. For young counsellors that were thought to have engaged the Prince in this adventure, I cannot speak with more certainty than of the intention; but I am sure, if they were in it, they were not alone; for none doubts of Monsieur *Fagel's* having been for it; and Monsieur *Beverning*, who was ever thought as staunch a patriot as any man among them, told me himself, that he had advised the Prince to accept it; which I believe he would not have done, if he had foreseen any danger from it to his country. But whether the Prince or his friends had the part that was commonly thought in the first overture, 'tis certain an interest of the deputies and magistrates, as well as Nobles of *Gelderland*, had a share in it too. For whereas this is the first Province in the union, and abounds with Nobles more than all the rest; yet, by reason of their poverty

verty from a barren soil, and want of trade, they are less considered than several other Provinces, and their voice has been in a manner swallowed up by that of *Holland*, who, by their trade and riches, have a great influence upon those of *Gelderland*. The deputies of this Province finding themselves yet less considerable in the union than they were before the war, which had extremely impoverished their country during the *French* conquests, thought there was no way of recovering such a consideration in the State, as suited with the rank and dignity they held, but devolving the sovereignty of their Province upon the Prince of *Orange*. Besides, many of the Nobles here, having pretences for themselves or their friends in the military employments, thought to make their court to the Prince, upon whom those charges depended, by advancing such a proposition: and this was certainly a great ingredient into the first conception of it; but whether connived at, or seconded by the Prince, or his friends, or with what aims or instructions, I cannot say; and so leave it as a mushroom that grew up suddenly, and as suddenly withered, and left no sign where it had grown.

At the Prince's return to the *Hague* in *March* 1675, I received a letter from his Majesty's own hand, telling me of some advices given him, That the Prince intended to come over into *England* against the approaching session of Parliament, and commanding me to hinder it, as if his Majesty believed the thing. I adventured to assure the King there could be nothing in it, before I saw the Prince; but, when I did, I pretended not to have had it from his Majesty, but that I heard such a thing had been whispered to him. He said, yes, and he believed by Lord *Arlington*, who had sometimes talked of that journey after the Peace should be made; however it came, he was sorry the King should believe it: that he was his Majesty's servant,

vant, and, if he could do him no service, he would at least do him no harm: but, if the King would be otherwise possessed, he could not help it; yet he desired me to assure him, there had never been any ground for such a report. In the afternoon the Prince came to me, and told me in great heat, he had, since he saw me, received the most impertinent letter from Lord *Arlington* that ever was upon that subject, treating it as a resolution certain and intended for raising heats in the Parliament, and commotions in the kingdom; telling him, 'Twas like to prove but an ill friendship between the King and him, if it was to be made, *A coup de bâtons* [*With blows*]; and putting him in mind, *Qu'il y a des playes chez vous, qui saigneront encore si l'on y met la main*, [*That there are some wounds among you, which will bleed afresh if they be but touched.*] The Prince said he knew well enough what Lord *Arlington* meant by that expression, for he had told Monsieur *Van Rbeede* in *England*, when he went over upon the first motions of the last peace, that the King could make the Prince be served as *De Wit* was, if he would set himself about it. Upon this he fell into the greatest rage that ever I saw him in, against my Lord *Arlington*, calling this proceeding malicious and insolent, Saying, he would write to him what he deserved, but never have any thing more to do with him beyond common forms: that, since he knew not how to trust the King's Ministers, he would write to the King himself, and desired me to convey his letters so as they might come to no other hand.

Soon after Count *Waldeck* went to *Vienna* to concert the actions of the next campaign, where Count *Montecuculi* was appointed to command the Imperial forces instead of the Duke *De Bournonville*; and the Count *De Souches* was sent away into a government in *Hungary*. In *March* the Elector of *Brandenburg* came to *Cleves* upon the same concert, where he was met by the

the Prince of *Orange*, and the Marquis *De Grana* the Emperor's Minister: but the main point, debated here, was thought to be the defence necessary to be made in *Pomerania* against the *Swede*, who began now to throw off the mask, to ravage the country, and to attack some places necessary for their quarters. The money likewise paid that Court from *France* at *Hamburg* had been so public and so avowed, that none further doubted of a sudden and open rupture from that Crown. Whereupon the States sent to Monsieur *Ebernstein* (then *Swedish* Ambassador at the *Hague*, and who would have kept still the figure of a mediator) to put in no more memorials to the States upon that occasion; since they could not receive them from a Minister, whose Prince had openly, and without cause attacked one of their allies.

At this time arrived an ambassador from *Denmark* at the *Hague*, to try what advantages his master could make of this present conjuncture, by terms of entering into the alliance against *France* and *Sweden*. And, all things being thus in the highest fermentation, a sudden damp fell upon the whole mass of these great affairs by the sickness of the Prince of *Orange*; which shewed him to be the spring that gave motion to all the other wheels; for while his illness lasted, and the event was doubtful, all was in suspense, and none of the parties engaged seemed to have other motions or sentiments than what were raised by the hopes or fears of so important a life. After some days fever it proved the small-pox, which had been very fatal in his family, and gave the greater apprehensions to his friends, and his country, who expressed indeed a strange concernment upon this occasion, by a perpetual course of people to enquire after every minutes progress of his illness. Whilst it lasted, he had taken a fancy hardly to eat or drink any thing but what came from my house, which the people after took notice of as it passed;

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and though perhaps few foreigners have had the luck to be better thought of or used in a strange country, than we had ever been in *Holland*; yet several of our *Dutch* friends told us, that, in case any thing fatal happened to the Prince from this disease, they believed the people would pull down our houses, and tear us all in pieces, upon knowing what he took in his sickness came from our hands. God be thanked all passed without any bad accident, though ill symptoms at first; and his recovery, next to the blessing of God, was owing to the great evenness of his temper, and constancy of mind, which gave way to no impressions or imaginations that use to be of so ill consequence in that disease; so that it passed in the common forms, and within twenty days he was abroad, and fell into the present business of the scene, among which the preparations for the campaign was the chief.

I cannot here forbear to give Monsieur *Bentinck* the character due to him, of the best servant I have ever known in Prince's or private family. He tended his master, during the whole course of his disease, both night and day; nothing he took was given him, nor he ever removed in his bed, by any other hand; and the Prince told me, that whether he slept or not he could not tell, but, in sixteen days and nights, he never called once that he was not answered by Monsieur *Bentinck*, as if he had been awake. The first time the Prince was well enough to have his head opened and combed, Monsieur *Bentinck*, as soon as it was done, begged of his master to give him leave to go home, for he was able to hold up no longer: he did so, and fell immediately sick of the same disease, and in great extremity; but recovered just soon enough to attend his master into the field, where he was ever next his person.

The campaign happened to begin later than it used to do on the *French* side; both from the expectation
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what the Prince's sickness would end in, and from some commotions succeeding one another about this time in *Guyenne* and *Britany*, upon occasion of the imposts or gabels, which drew some of the *French* forces into those parts. But when those troubles were ended, as they were by an unusual strain of lenity and clemency in composing them, all imaginable endeavours were used to prepare in *France* for the campaign: the King intended to attack *Flanders* at the head of all the choice of his forces, and with the greatest vigour and impression he could make this year upon the *Spanish Netherlands*; yet the King pretended to be but a volunteer in the army, of which he declared the Prince of *Conde* General, whether to put the greatest compliment he could on so great merit, or to hinder his brother from making difficulty of acting under that Prince's orders. And Monsieur *De Turenne* was to be employed in *Alsace*, to attend and amuse as much as he could the *German* army, for fear of giving the King too much diversion in *Flanders*; and this with orders to act by concert with Count *Wrangel*, General of the *Swedish* forces in *Pomerania*, who gave hopes of marching so far into *Germany* as to concert his actions, or at least motions, with those of Monsieur *De Turenne*. On the other side, the confederates were as busy in their provisions against these designs. The Elector of *Mentz* was drawn to throw off the remainders of his neutrality, and to receive the Imperial troops into his towns, as *Strasburg* had done; and practices were set on foot to change the temper of the Court of *Bavaria*, with hopes of success. *Montecuculi* prepared to come down into *Alsace* with the army of the Emperor and the adjoining circles: and the Elector of *Brandenburg* came to the *Hague* after the Prince of *Orange's* illness, where treaties were concluded with the King of *Denmark's* Ministers, and renewed with the Duke of *Lunenburg*. After which the Elector went immediately away to the

the relief of his own subjects and country, then invaded and spoiled by the open hostility of the *Swedish* forces. Whilst he was at the *Hague*, the compliments passed in form between us, but without visit or interview, though the Elector desired and pursued it with more instance than I well understood: for he sent his Minister at the *Hague* first to me, and afterwards engaged the Prince himself to endeavour it, by finding some expedient in the difficulties of ceremony; or else by proposing a third place. But the *French* Ambassadors having taken up a form of refusing to visit any Elector, unless they might have the hand given them in those Princes houses, and the Electors having never consented to it, I told the Prince I could not go lower than the *French* Ambassadors did; in that or any other point; and that meeting in a third place would look like a sort of approving the refusal made by the Electors; and so I never saw this Prince during his stay at the *Hague*; much to my regret because I had been possessed of many qualities very esteemable in him.

In the mean time, how useless soever for the present, yet the forms of his Majesty's mediation, went on: after it had been accepted by all parties, the first point that came to be considered, was the place of treaty; about which the *Swedes* could not surmount the difficulties during the course of their mediation. The house of *Austria* proposed to have the congress in some of the free towns of the empire, as *Franckfort*, *Hamburg*, *Strasburg*, and some others: *France* refused ever to come into any town of the empire, upon the insults they received and complained of so much at *Cologne*, in the seizure of Prince *William* of *Furstemburg*, and a great sum of the *French* money there; but offered, at the same time, to come and treat at *Breda*, though belonging to one of the parties engaged in the war, which they would make pass for a great condescension and testimony of that King's inclination to a peace.

The confederates, on the other side, would not hear of *Breda*: they took that proposition as an artifice, first, to ingratiate with the States beyond the rest of their allies; but next, which was the point of importance, they looked upon it as designed to carry on either a separate treaty with the States, or, at least, private measures and correspondencies with several towns and persons of those provinces, so as to induce or force the States at last into a separate treaty with *France*, upon the difficulties or delays that might arise in a general one. And upon this point the allies were so jealous, that the States-deputies of the foreign committee, who managed all these affairs in the first resort, thought it necessary to seem as averse against treating in any of their dominions, as any of the allies. Thus all places in *Germany*, *France*, and the *Low-countries*, seemed absolutely excluded by one part or other; and *London* was disliked by all, as too remote, and of difficult and uncertain commerce for letters, by reason of the sea. After much perplexity upon this subject, in many conferences I had with the deputies, and discourses with the Pensioner, I proposed two places as the only I could think of, left for any attempt, upon all circumstances: the first was *Cleves*, which could not be said to belong to the empire, but to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, as Duke of *Cleves*, and not as a Prince of the empire. The other was *Nimeguen*, as being the last town belonging to the States, and upon the borders of *Germany*. Both towns capable of such a reception as was necessary, both in good air, and easy of access from all parts, centered between *Spain* and *Sweden*, between the empire and *France*, and near *England*, where the spring of this treaty was conceived to be. I thought *France* might not dislike *Cleves*, even upon those regards the allies suspected of the vicinity to the States; and the confederates could not except against it, as belonging to one of them. On the other side,

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if the allies approved *Cleves*, and *France* should refuse it, yet they could not afterwards disapprove of *Nimeguen*, which was but three leagues nearer the *Hague* or *Amsterdam* (where they suspected the *French* practices) and disjoined from both by necessary passage of great rivers, which made the commerce more difficult and slow than it would be from other towns of the States dominions. Another reason was, that I knew no other to name, that did not seem previously excluded. And upon this the deputies consented that I should propose both to the King, that he might do the same to all the parties; but that I should begin with *Cleves*, which I did.

This *France* refused, upon pretence of some dependence upon the empire; but, as was thought, upon pique to the Duke of *Brandenburg*, with whom they were more offended at this time than with any of the allies. After this refusal, *Nimeguen* being advanced, *France* first accepted it, and afterwards the allies, who could not well refuse it, after having expressed they would have been satisfied with *Cleves*: and so this place came to be fixed for the scene of this negotiation.

But at the same time that *France* accepted the place of treaty, they declared, that they would not however send any Ambassadors thither, till the Emperor had given them satisfaction upon the two points, so long insisted on, of prince *William* of *Furstenburg*'s liberty, and restitution of the money seized at *Cologne*, which were points had been hitherto as obstinately refused at *Vienna*, as demanded by *France*; so as these paces towards a peace gained at present very little ground, but left way for the actions and successes of the ensuing campaign, to determine the times, the methods, and conditions of the pretended treaty.

The *French* began their action by the siege of *Limbourg*, with one part of their army; whilst the King, with the rest, lay encamped in a post most convenient to

to oppose any attempt of relieving it, to which purpose the Prince was upon his march; but, after a short and weak resistance, it was taken, before he could approach it. For, besides some delays forced by his sickness, he began here to feel the weight that hung about him in all the course of this war, from the uncertain and slow marches of the *German* horse, and the weakness and disorders of the *Spanish* troops; which were necessary to make up his army of strength to oppose that of *France*, composed of such numbers, such brave and experienced troops, and under so great a commander as the Prince of *Conde*, and so gallant officers.

After the taking of *Limbourg*, the *French* and confederate armies in *Flanders* fell into no considerable action or attempt: neither daring to sit down before any place of strength, whilst the other army attended them, and was ready to relieve it; and neither seeming very earnest to come to a battle (unless with evident advantage) upon the loss of which so great consequences seemed to depend, as the *French* entire conquest of *Flanders*, on one side; on the confederates marching directly into *France* on the other, after any great victory. Besides, they seemed to be amused by the expectation of what was likely to pass in *Germany*, both upon the *Rhine* between the *Imperialists* and *French*, and in *Pomerania* between the *Swede* and *Brandenburg*; which, without new successes in the *Low-Countries*, were like to decide, in a great measure, the fate of this war; whilst the confederates equally presumed of their successes in *Alsace*, and the *French* of those of the *Swedes* in the north.

About the end of *July*, the King of *France*, weary of a dull campaign, left the army to the Prince of *Conde*, and returned with his Court to *Versailles*; and, the same month, his Majesty, seeing the negotiations of the peace laid at present asleep, sent for me to make a short turn into *England*, and give an account of all

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the observations I had been able to make abroad upon the present dispositions and conjunctures, as well as receive his instructions for the future progress of his mediation.

The Parliament in *England*, though much pleased with the last peace with *Holland*, yet were not so with his Majesty's desires of a general one. They thought the power of *France* too great since their last conquests in *Flanders*: and their ambition too declared, of achieving it by one means, and at one time or other. They were suspicious of the Court's favouring too much the *French* designs, by pursuing a peace that would break so mighty a confederacy as was now united against *France*. They were jealous of the counsels which had made the late alliance and kindness between us and *France* in the time of the late cabal. And besides these regards, and the common notions of balancing the power of our neighbours, which were very popular; the ambitious designs of private, but unquiet or aspiring men, fell in to augment and blow up the general ill humours upon the more public accounts.

The Lord *Shaftsbury*, impatient at his fall from so great a share of the ministry, and hoping to retrieve a game he was forced to give over, had run desperately into the popular humour, both in Parliament and city, of censuring the Court, exclaiming against our partiality to *France*, but most of all against the conduct of the present ministry: and Lord *Arlington* was so enraged at the growth of my Lord Treasurer's credit upon the fall of his own, that he fell in with the common humour of the Parliament, in fomenting those jealousies and practices in the house of Commons, which centered in a measure agreed among the most considerable of them, *Not to consent to give the King any money, whilst the present Lord Treasurer continued.* Upon these occasions or dispositions they grew very high

high in pursuing the Lord *Lauderdale*, the only remainder of the cabal that had now any credit left at Court; and they pressed the King very earnestly to recall all the *English* troops in the *French* service, though there was a greater number in the *Dutch*: but besides, they fell into so great diffensions between the two houses, raised upon punctilious disputes, and deductions of their several privileges in opposition to one another, that about the end of *June* the King prorogued them.

Upon my arrival soon after, his Majesty, telling me the several reasons that had moved him to it, said, *That he doubted much, while the war lasted abroad, it would give occasion or pretence for these heats that had of late appeared in the Parliament, and make him very uneasy in his revenue, which so much needed their assistance; that some of the warm leaders in both houses had a mind to engage him in a war against France, which they should not do for many reasons; and, among the rest, because he was sure, if they did, they would leave him in it, and make use of it to ruin his Ministers, and make him depend upon them more than he intended, or any King would desire. But, besides all this, he doubted an impertinent quarrel between my Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain did him more disservice in the Parliament than I could imagine: for the last did not care what harm he did his business there, so he could hope to ruin my Lord Treasurer; and had persuaded a great many in the house of Commons, that this would certainly be compassed if they were stanch, and declared in giving no money, during his ministry: that he knew they were both my friends, and therefore desired I would try to reconcile them while I staid in England. I endeavoured it, but failed: my Lord Danby was very inclinable, being so posted as to desire only to continue where he was, and that the King's business might go well in his hands; but my Lord Arlington was so uneasy in the posture he stood, which he attributed chiefly to my Lord Treasurer's present greatness*

ness, that he was untreatable upon this subject: so, when I found the wound was too much wrankled to be cured, I gave it over, telling each of them, that, since I could not make them friends, I would at least live with them both as if they were so; and desired them not to expect I should sacrifice one friend to another. My Lord Treasurer was content with this frankness, but Lord *Arlington* could not bear this neither, grew dry from this time, and stiff in all that passed between us, still mingling little reproaches or touches of my greatness with the other; and grew so weary of the scene at Court, where he found himself left out, that he went into the country for the rest of the summer.

Thus the seeds of discontents, that had been sown in the Parliament under the counsels of the cabal, began to spring fast, and root deep, after their power and influence was wholly at an end; and those heats were under other covers fomented by two of the chief that composed that ministry, and with help of time and accident grew to such flames as have since appeared. But whatever began or increased them, it is certain these agitations in *England* had great effect upon those of the war and peace abroad: for the confederates were confident, that the humour of the Parliament and people would at last engage the King in their quarrel, which they knew would force *France* to such a peace as they desired: and *Spain* was so presuming that *England* would not suffer the loss of *Flanders*, that they grew careless of its defence, or of those orders and supplies that were necessary to it; trusting for the present to the *Dutch* to preserve it, and to the King hereafter, whenever he should find it more in danger. And these considerations made the allies less inclinable to a peace, which they might have had cheaper the following winter, than ever it fell afterwards to their share, by revolutions that were not foreseen,

seen, but yet such as were suspected at this time, by those that knew the weakness of the *Spaniards*, and divisions of the Imperial Court.

While I staid in *England*, which was about six weeks, the news came of a great insurrection in *Britany*, which, with the numbers, and rage it began, might have proved of ill consequence to the *French* affairs, if it had met with a head answerable to the body; but being composed of a scum of the mean people, that hated and spoiled the Noblesse of the province, it was by fair means partly, and by foul, in a little time appeased. The blow, which was much more considerable to *France*, than the loss of provinces would have been, was the death of Monsieur *De Turenne*, the news whereof came to Court about the same time. This great Captain had for three months together kept the Imperial army at a bay on the other side the *Rhine*; resolved not to fight unless with the greatest advantage, his point being to hinder the *German* forces from besieging *Philipsburg*, from posting themselves in the towns of *Alsace*, but chiefly from entering into *Lorraine*, or the country of *Burgundy*: all these he performed; but being pressed by the Imperialists, and straitened in his quarters, he suffered much by want of provisions, and found his army diminished by sickness and desertion, which use to follow that condition. At last, being necessitated for want of forage to force a post of the enemies that straitened him most, a warm skirmish began, and with loss to the *French*, who were galled with two pieces of cannon raised upon an eminence, and playing upon them with advantage. Monsieur *De Turenne* resolved to raise a battery to dismount them; and going with *St. Hilaire*, a Lieutenant-General, to chuse a place the most convenient for it, the two small pieces from the Imperial side fired at them almost together; one of the bullets wounded *St. Hilaire* in the shoulder; and the other,

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after two or three bounds upon the ground, struck Monsieur *De Turenne* upon the breast; and, without any apparent wound more than the contusion, laid him dead upon the place, and by such a death as *Cæsar* used to wish for, unexpected, sudden, and without pain. The astonishment was unspeakable in the *French* camp upon the loss of such a General; the presumption as great in that of the Imperialists, who reckoned upon themselves as masters of the whole *French* army, that was straitened between them and the *Rhine*, in want, diseased, and above all discouraged by the loss of their Captain. All others had the same expectations upon this news; but all were disappointed; and Monsieur *De Lorges*, taking the command of the army, had the honour of making a retreat that was worth a victory; and, by the force of order and conduct, with the bravery of the *English* troops, who made such bold stands in several places that they could not be broken till most of the army were marched off, he passed the *Rhine* in sight of part of the Imperial army, and encamped himself on the other side in safety; and so preserved it till the Prince of *Conde* was sent in haste out of *Flanders*, with a great enforcement, to oppose the progress of the Imperialists in *Alsace*.

In the mean time, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, drawing his forces, with some Imperialists out of *Silesia*, together, fell upon the *Swedes* in *Pomerania* with that bravery and success, that he soon beat them out of his part of the country, and pursued them into their own. He had an interview with the King of *Denmark*, who was now entered into the interests of the confederates, and resolved to declare war against *Sweden*; and to that end took his measures with the Duke of *Brandenburg* how to pursue it with the best advantage the rest of the season.

When the Prince of *Conde* left *Flanders*, to succeed Monsieur *De Turenne* in *Alsace*, the Duke of *Luxem-*

burg commanded the army in *Flanders*; but with orders not to hazard a battle, and only to observe the Prince of *Orange's* motions, and to cover any town that was like to be endangered; which he performed so well, that no further action passed this summer, besides the Prince's taking and razing of *Binch*. But, to make amends for the unactiveness of this campaign in *Flanders*, the confederates, by concert on all sides, fell upon an enterprize of great *éclat*, and of greater consequence, which was the siege of *Triers*. The Imperialists were bent upon it, to open a passage that way into *France*, finding so much opposition in their designs of it by *Alsace*: the *Spaniards* desired it, to make way for their succouring *Luxemburg* whenever it should be pressed, which was of the last importance to them: the Duke of *Lorrain* was violently for it, in hopes of finding a way open for his entrance into *Lorrain*: the Prince *Palatine* thought it the best preparation for besieging and carrying *Philipsburg*, which was the thorn in his side. So all these joined part of their troops together, with some of the Elector of *Triers's*, and a body of *Lunenbourg* forces under the Dukes of *Zell* and *Osnaburg*, and sat down before *Triers*.

The Marshal *De Crequi* gathered all the forces he could out of the neighbouring provinces, and made up a strong army to relieve it. The confederates left part of theirs to maintain their retrenchments about the town, and marched with the rest against Monsieur *De Crequi*, passed a river in his sight, attacked him, beat him out of the field with great slaughter, many prisoners, and such a dispersion of the rest, that the whole army seemed to have vanished in one day; and Monsieur *De Crequi* got into *Triers* with four or five only in company: there he made a desperate resistance for near a month against the victorious army, with great honour and loss among the *English* troops that were in the town, and without any hopes of relief; nor would he

he ever capitulate, after all the extremities he was reduced to by the forms of a siege, till the garrison mutinied against his obstinacy, capitulated for themselves, and delivered up Monsieur *De Crequi* and most of the officers prisoners to the *Germans*. The Duke of *Lunenburg* had great honour in this action, and the old Duke of *Lorraine*; and indeed it was one of the most vigorous that succeeded in the whole course of the war, and carried the compleatest victory, as well as a very considerable town: and the honour of it was very much due to the Marquis *De Grana*, who commanded the Emperor's forces there, and was esteemed to have laid the first design, to have concerted the several parts of it, engaged the several parties to resolve upon the same adventure, and kept them firm in it till it was atchieved. The loss of men was very great on the *French* side, both in the fight and the siege; and, added to Monsieur *De Turenne's* death, and the impression expected upon it on that side from the Count *De Montecuculi*, with the loss of the *Svedes*, made so great a change in the appearance of affairs, that his Majesty, in a letter to me, in *September*, after my return to the *Hague*, bid me use it as an argument to induce the Prince of *Orange* to be easy in the business of a peace, *That it was now time for him to begin to apprehend again the greatness of the house of Austria instead of that of France*. It was indeed expected, that the Imperialists in *Alsace* would either enter into *Lorraine*, or at least would take the chief towns of *Alsace*, and post themselves so the following winter, as to be ready for such an enterprize in the beginning of the next spring; and the Count *De Montecuculi* besieged first *Haguenau*, and afterwards *Zaberne*, which were the most considerable places, to that end. But, after *Haguenau* had offered to surrender upon conditions, he rose with his army to fight the Prince of *Conde*, who made a motion with his army as if he intended

to relieve it; but so ordered it, as the *Germans* failed both of the battle and the town. It was never comprehended how *Montecuculi* afterwards came to rise of a sudden from the siege of *Zaberne*: some said, it was upon an express order from *Vienna* the night before; others, with design of fighting the *French* army, or besieging *Philipsburg*; but neither happened: and, which was worse than all, he ended the campaign with passing back his whole army over the *Rhine*, and leaving *Alsace* wholly in the possession and at the mercy of the *French* troops. Nor have I ever known any action of such public concern, so unaccountable as this retreat; since it is hard to suspect either corruption or Court-faction should go so far, though both were accused of having part in this great and almost decisive event.

The resentment of it was thought to have broke the old Duke of *Lorraine's* heart, who died about this time, and left Prince *Charles*, his nephew, the succession to that dutchy. No Prince had met with more misfortunes than this Duke, nor had felt them less, or given greater testimony of what philosophy teaches, that the good or ill of men's lives comes more from their humours than their fortunes. He was expelled that noble and lovely dutchy by the arms of *France* in Cardinal *Richelieu's* time; forced to go into the *Spanish* service in *Flanders* with a body of *Lorrainers* that would follow his fortune whatever it was; struggled with want of pay to his troops, with jealousy and ill usage of the *Spanish* Governors; was seized and imprisoned by that crown; restored to a shattered possession of *Lorraine* by the peace of the *Pyrenees*; and and in the year 1670 forced to escape by night, and almost alone, by a sudden surprize of the *French* troops, in the height and security of peace: after this he never had a home any more for the rest of his life, which was spent in suing for protection and relief from the
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several Princes of Christendom, who resented the injustice of his case, which none pretended to defend, but yet none to concern themselves in it, till upon the last war he fell into his share of the confederacy, with the weight of two or three thousand *Lorrainers* that still followed his fortune, and entered into leagues with the Emperor and most of the allies for his restitution. He seemed not to deserve the fortune of a Prince, only because he seemed not to care for it, to hate the constraints and ceremonies that belonged to it, and to value no pleasures in life but the most natural and most easy; and, while he had them, was never out of humour for wanting the rest; generous to his servants and soldiers when he had it; and, when he wanted, endeavouring to make it up by the liberties he gave them; very much beloved and familiar among both: and, to give his picture by a small *trait*, one of his ministers told me, That, not long before he died, all his family was a Gentleman of the horse (as he was called) another of his chamber, and a boy that looked to a little nag he used to ride: one day he called for his horse; the two first told him, the boy was not to be found; he bid them however get him his horse: they could not agree which of them should go and saddle him; till the Duke bid them go, and one or t'other of them do it, or else he swore he would go down and saddle his horse himself: they were ashamed, and 'twas done.

About the same time died at the *Hague* the old Princess-dowager of *Orange*; a woman of the most wit and good sense, in general, that I have known; and who had thereby a great part in forming the race of the Prince, and the mighty improvement it received from three very extraordinary women, as well as three so great men in the last descents. None has shewed more the force of order and oeconomy than this Princess; who with small revenues, never above twelve thousand

thousand pounds a-year since her husband's death, lived always in as great plenty, and more curiousness and elegance, than is seen in many greater courts. Among other pieces of greatness, she was constantly served all in gold plate, which went so far as to great bottles for water, and a great cistern for bottles, to the key of her closet, and every thing of that kind she usually touched; which I mention, because I think 'tis what the greatest Kings of Christendom have not pretended to, nor any I have heard of on this side *Persia*.

In *November* this year happened a storm at *North-West*, with a spring tide, so violent, as gave apprehensions of some loss irrecoverable to the Province of *Holland*, and, by several breaches in the great digue near *Enchuyssen*, and others between *Amsterdam* and *Harlem*, made way for such inundations as had not been seen before by any man then alive, and filled the country with many relations of most deplorable events. But the incredible diligence and unanimous endeavours of the people, upon such occasions, gave a stop to the fury of that element, and made way for recovering next year all the lands, though not the people, cattle and houses, that had been lost.

Before the end of the year, the *Danes* took *Wismar* from the *Swedes*, and, by an open war, those two Crowns came to be engaged in the common quarrel: and, after a great expectation of some extraordinary successes in the *Spanish* affairs from *Don John's* intended expedition into *Italy*, to command all the forces and provinces of that Crown both there and in *Sicily*, when he was ready to go and meet *De Ruyter* at *Barcelona*, who attended him there, with the *Dutch* fleet designed for *Messina*, he was, by a Court-intrigue, recalled to *Madrid*: the King was then arrived in his fourteenth year; and took upon him the government, as now in majority; and, by the advice of some near him in fa-

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your, writ a letter to *Don John* to invite him to Court, to assist him in the government: he obeyed, but staid not there above a fortnight or three weeks, till, by the credit and authority of the Queen Mother, he was forced to quit his ground there, and return to *Saragossa*. And so vanished a mighty expectation that had been raised in *Spain*, and other places, of great effects that were to follow this Prince's coming to the administration of affairs, and very great sums of money were wholly lost, that had been employed in the preparations of his journey and equipage for *Italy*. And *Sicily* was left almost hopeless of recovery, from the successes of the *French*, who had taken many posts about *Messina*, and threatened many more; and other towns were feared to follow the example of that great revolt.

After the Prince's return from the campaign to the *Hague*, in *October*, I had several conferences with him upon the subject of the peace, and the terms that both his Majesty and the States might think reasonable between *France* and *Spain*, and both those crowns be in any probability of consenting to. That, which *France* pretended, was the terms of the peace of *Aix*, and retaining the county of *Burgundy* which had been since conquered; or if either this Province, or some of the most important frontier-towns of *Flanders*, should be restored, then an equivalent to be made them for such restitution. The *Spaniards* talked of nothing less than the peace of the *Pyrenees*; and that they would rather lose the rest of *Flanders* by the war, than part with *Burgundy* by the peace; and said, both the King and the States were as much concerned in *Flanders*, as the Crown of *Spain*, and had the same interest to see it safe by a war or a peace, which could not be by such a frontier as was left by that of *Aix*.

That which my Lord *Arlington* had proposed to the Prince and Pensioner, and which passed for his Majesty's

ty's sentiment, though he pretended no orders, was the terms of *Aix la Chapelle*: but in regard of the necessity for the *Spaniards* to have a better frontier in *Flanders* than was left by that peace, That the *French* should give up *Aeth*, and *Charleroy*, and *Oudenarde*, for *Aire* and *St. Omer*: and that, if they parted with the county of *Burgundy*, it should be for something in exchange. His Majesty commanded me to assure the Prince, that if a peace could be made upon those terms, or any so near them that he might hope to obtain the consent of *France*, his Majesty, for the security of *Flanders*, would give his own guarantee to the peace, and enter into the strictest alliance the States could desire for preserving it, or defending *Flanders* in case of a new rupture. He bid me further assure the Prince, that for his patrimonial lands in *Burgundy* (which were about eight thousand pounds a-year, and lordships of the greatest royalty in that county) he would undertake for his secure possessing them, though that county should remain in the *French* hands; or for selling them to that King, and at what price the Prince himself could think fit to value them.

The Prince's answer was, That for his own part he could be very well content to leave the terms of a peace to his Majesty himself, and believed the States would do so too; but they were both engaged by treaty and honour to their allies, and there was no thought of making peace without them: that he believed the *Spaniards* might be persuaded to it upon the terms of *Aix*, with restitution only of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, and *Oudenarde*, towards composing some kind of necessary frontier on that side; but to part with *Aire* and *St. Omer*, without any further and greater exchange, he believed they would not in the present posture of things; that for *France* retaining the county of *Burgundy*, as conquered in this last war, he was sure neither *Spain* nor the Emperor would ever consent

sent to it, unless they were beaten into it by disasters they had no reason to expect; though, for his own part, he should be content with it, provided the *French* would restore *Tourney*, *Courtray*, *Lisle*, and *Doway*, with their dependencies to the *Spaniards*, in lieu of it; because by that means *Flanders* would have a secure frontier on that side, and a reasonable good one by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* on the other; and the security of *Flanders* was the chief interest of the States upon the peace: that, for himself, he thanked his Majesty for his offer, as to his lands in *Burgundy*; but they never came into his thought upon the terms of a peace, nor should ever hinder it; but, on the other side, he would be content to lose them all, to gain one good town more for the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*.

When I put him in mind, as the King ordered me, of the apprehensions he and the States might have of the greatness of the house of *Austria*, if their successes continued; he told me, *There was no need of that, till they should go beyond the peace of the Pyrenees: whenever that should happen, he should be as much a Frenchman as he was now a Spaniard; but not before.* He ended, in desiring that whatever plan his Majesty thought fit to propose for a peace, he would do it at the congress at *Nimeguen*; for the number and variety of pretensions and interests were grown so great, by all the parties now engaged in the war, that it could not be done in any other place; and, for his part, he could never consent to any treaty separate from his allies: that he believed they would be reasonable; and, if *France* would be so too, the peace might be made; if not, perhaps another campaign might bring them to reason; and that this might have done it, if some differences between him and the *Spaniards*, in the actions proposed, had not hindered the successes they hoped for in *Flanders*, and if *Montecuculi's* impatience to be at *Vienna*, and pass the winter there, upon the facti-

ons stirring at Court, had not made him repass the *Rhine*, and take his winter-quarters in the circles of the empire there; because, if he had done it in *Alsace*, he doubted his presence with the army might be thought necessary.

After this conference, and no return from his Majesty to the account I gave him of it, the discourse ceased of private measures to be agreed between his Majesty and the Prince and States, for promoting a peace; and all thoughts began now to turn upon forming the congress at *Nimeguen*.

I had another testimony given me of the firmness I had always found in the Prince upon the subject of the peace, by what one of the *Spanish* Ministers told me had lately passed between him and the Duke *De Villa Hermosa*. His Highness had a long pretence depending at *Madrid*, for about two hundred thousand pounds owing to his family from that Crown since the peace of *Munster*. It had ever been delayed, though never refused: an agent from the Prince had of late very much pressed the Queen Regent of *Spain* upon this subject, and with much ado had obtained an order for fifty thousand pounds; and bills were put into his hands by the Ministers there, which, when they arrived in *Flanders*, instead of being payed, were protested. The Duke *De Villa Hermosa* was so ashamed of this treatment, that he sent a person purposely to excuse it to the Prince, and assure him the fault was not in the Queen nor Ministers, but only in the choice of hands by which it was transmitted, and desired his Highness would not take it ill of the Queen. The Prince answered, no, not at all; on the other side I have reason to take it well of the Queen; for, if she did not think me the honestest man in the world, she would not use me so; however, nothing of this kind shall hinder me from doing what I owe to my allies, or to my honour.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding all I had writen from the Prince to his Majesty upon this subject, yet my Lord *Arlington*, upon pretended intelligence from his relations in *Holland*, endeavoured to persuade him that he knew not the Prince's mind for want of some body that had more credit with him than I had; and at the same time he pursued the Prince by letters, to desire the King to send over some such person as he might treat with in the last confidence upon all matters between them. The Prince shewed me his letters, and bid me assure the King and my Lord Treasurer, that he could say no more than he had done to me, and would not say so much to any other man. However, my Lord *Arlington*, upon the former suggestions, prevailed with the King to send over Sir *Gabriel Silvius* instructed, to know the bottom of the Prince's mind upon the subject of the peace, before the campaign began. He acquainted the Prince with this resolution, and that he was a person they knew his Highness would trust: the Prince shewed me this letter too, and said, he knew not what he meant; that Lord *Arlington* knew as well as any man how far he trusted both Sir *Gabriel Silvius* and me. This good usage ended all correspondence between Lord *Arlington* and me, which had lasted by letters to this time, though coldly since my being last in *England*. But upon Sir *Gabriel Silvius's* coming to the *Hague* in *January*, and my preparation to go for *Nimeguen*, I ended that scent; having not learned enough of the age, nor the Court I lived in, to act an unsincere part either in friendship or in love.

When Sir *Gabriel* came to the *Hague*, he passed for a man of some great intrigue, was perpetually at Court, or in conversation and visits with the persons near the Prince, or most employed in the State. But he and Lord *Arlington* were soon satisfied to how good purpose he came over, for the Prince, who is the sincerest man in the world, hating all tricks, and those that use

use them, gave him no mark of the least confidence while he staid, and sent him away with a very plain one of the contrary, by trusting another hand with all he writ of consequence into *England*, before he went into the field. The truth is, the Prince took this journey of his to have been designed by my Lord *Arlington*, both out of spite to me, and to give jealousies to the confederates, by the suspicion of something in agitation between the King and Prince that I was not thought fit to be trusted with. And indeed several of their Ministers at the *Hague* were apt to fall into such surmises: but Monsieur *De Lyra*, a *Spanish* Minister, a person much credited in his own Court, and much in the Prince's confidence, was ever firm in the belief of his Highness's honour and constancy (which he used to say his master trusted to more than to any treaties) and so helped to prevent all such impressions.

In the mean time, all motions necessary towards forming the congress at *Nimeguen* began to be made by the several parties, and gave appearances of the Ambassadors meeting suddenly there. The great obstruction hitherto had been the point of Prince *William* of *Furstemburg*'s liberty, which *France* had absolutely insisted on before they sent their Ambassadors, and the Emperor had been induced to promise only upon conclusion of the treaty. But an expedient was found out to save the honour of *France* upon this point, rather than the treaty should be hindered, which was at that time thought necessary for their affairs: the Bishop of *Strasburg* made a formal request to the King of *France*, that no private interests, or respects of his brother, might delay the treaty of a peace which was of so much consequence to all *Christendom*; and, this request being at this time easily received and granted, no further difficulty was made upon this point.

His

His Majesty thereupon invited all the Princes concerned in the war, to hasten away their Ministers to the place of congress, and acquainted them with his having ordered his own to repair immediately thither; and having some months before appointed the Lord Berkley, (then Ambassador at *Paris*) Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* his Ambassadors, Mediators, and Plenipotentiaries for the treaty of *Nimeguen*; Sir *Lionel* was accordingly dispatched away, and arrived at the *Hague* towards the end of *January* 1676, and brought with him our instructions for that embassy; and, after some few days stay at the *Hague*, went away for *Nimeguen*. But the expedition of the passports, from and to all the Ministers of the several parties, having been for some time under my care, and many of them come to my hands, though others were entangled still in some difficulty or other, we both concluded it necessary for me to continue at the *Hague* till this was dispatched; whilst Sir *Lionel* should go upon the place of congress, and, by the presence of a mediator, invite the rest to make more haste than many of them seemed disposed to at this time.

The *French* Ambassadors were already come to *Charleville*, where they staid for their passports only, to go on with their journey; and, upon Sir *Lionel's* arrival at the *Hague*, the *Dutch* Ambassadors came to us to acquaint us with the States orders for their immediate repair to *Nimeguen*, and for the Magistrates of that city (which they now considered as a neutral town) to receive all orders from us the mediators, and particularly any we pleased to give about our reception upon our arrival there.

We told them, his Majesty's thoughts were upon the successes of the treaty, and that nothing could more obstruct it than the ceremonies which used to attend those meetings; and therefore he ordered us to introduce, as much as we could among all the Ambassadors,
the

the method of living there as much like private men as could consist with the honour of their characters; and to this end, that we should make no public entries, and give thereby an example to those that came after us.

To avoid all punctilios about the time of the several parties dispatching the passports, it was agreed that all should be sent to the *Hague* from the several courts, and there should be put into my hands; to the end, that, when I found myself possessed of them, I should make the distribution reciprocally to both parties at the same time. Those of *France* were early with me, but short in some points of those from the confederates; the chief whereof was the omission of liberty granted to the Ambassadors to dispatch couriers to their master's courts upon passports of the respective Ambassadors, which was thought necessary for the progress of the treaty. Another was the omission of passports of the Duke of *Lorrain's* ministers in the form usual and expected: for, whereas the Crown of *France* had always treated the former Dukes of *Lorrain* with the title of *Duke*, and appellation of *Brother*, their passports now treated the new Duke only with *Cousin*, and Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*; the rest were minute differences or mistakes of words, which are not worth the mention, and were easily surmounted. Of all these his Majesty had early notice, and employed his offices towards *France* for some months, without answer upon that of *Lorrain*, and with positive refusal of inserting the clause for liberty of passports; though Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* several times, during this pause, writ to the States, That the King often assured him (their Ambassador at *London*) that there should be no difficulty in the business of *Lorrain*.

About the beginning of *February* this year 1676, I received a letter from Monsieur *De Pomponne*, then Secretary

secretary for foreign affairs in *France*, to tell me, That his master, having been acquainted from his Majesty with the difficulties occurring in forming the congress, had ordered him to let me know his reasons upon them. As to that of couriers, that he thought it not fit to have his countries and towns lie open to his enemies observations and discoveries, upon pretext of such couriers frequent passage: that the inconvenience would be the same to the confederates: and that he asked no more than he gave. As to the point of *Lorrain*, that his master could not give passports with the style of *Duke*, which carried that of *Brother*; pretending that duchy belonged to his Most Christian Majesty by the treaty 1762, between him and the last Duke.

Not many days after, I received notice from Secretary *Williamson*, of the same account having been given his Majesty by Monsieur *De Ruigny*, with order to acquaint the States with it; which I had not done upon Monsieur *De Pomponne's* letter, as not thinking fit to make any paces in these matters without orders from his Majesty. The States and all their allies were very much surpris'd with this pretence of *Lorrain*, which *France* had never before advanced, or so much as mentioned, either upon the seizure of that duchy, or since that time, in the accounts of it by their ministers in the several courts of Christendom; they had only profess'd to have found such a seizure necessary for preserving the peace wherein Christendom then was, from the dangerous or uncertain dispositions of that Duke, with whom his Most Christian Majesty could take no certain measures, and his enemies would be practising; but that it was without any intention of retaining any part of that duchy otherwise than for this end of preserving the peace of Christendom. All this, with many more circumstances, Monsieur *Serinchamps*, the *Lorrain* Envoy, alledged at the conferences with the States and allies upon this occasion; and, for the treaty

ty of 1662, he seemed to wonder it should ever be mentioned, as a thing wholly invalid, and, as every body thought, thereupon long since forgotten: that the last Duke had no power to dispose of that duchy from his nephew; because, if the *Salique law* had place in *Lorraine*, it was unalienable from the next heir-male; if the *feminine succession*, then that Duke himself had no title at all to it, but it belonged to the present Duke even in the life of his uncle. Secondly, that it was invalid, by the *French* non-performance of the only condition on their side, upon which the old Duke pretended to have made it; which was, *That the Princes of that family should be assumed into the rank of Princes of the blood in France*; and, that upon registering that treaty of 1662 in the Parliament of *Paris*, without that clause, the old Duke had declared it void within three weeks after it was made. Thirdly, that a treaty was concluded the year after, being 1663, at *Marsal*, between the Most Christian King and the said Duke; by which he was to continue in the possession of all his territories, besides *Marsal*, in the same manner as he enjoyed them by the treaty of 1661, as he did till the seizure of them by *France* in 1670, during a profound peace, and with the professions above mentioned made by *France* to his Majesty at that time (as Monsieur *Serinchamps* averred) as well as to the other Courts of *Christendom*.

These arguments were of such force with all the confederates, that they were unanimous and firm in positively insisting upon the passports of that Duke, with the usual forms; and the more, since *France* had advanced a pretence to that duchy, which was never thought of before among the allies. The *Austrian* Ministers told me frankly, that the treaty should never be without this allowance of the Duke of *Lorraine's* title, nor the peace without his restitution. The States said, they, for their parts, would willingly refer this, and

and any other matters concerning the treaty, to his Majesty's arbitration; but that they were bound already by other treaties to their allies; and particularly to the Duke of *Lorraine*; and could not break from them upon a point of such apparent right as this. The Prince spoke the same language, and said further, that he was bound by his oath of Stadtholder, among other things, to endeavour to the utmost of his power to keep the States to the due observance of their treaties; and so, by the grace of God, he would do in this as well as others.

All this being signified to his Majesty, and by him to *France*, that Court continued peremptory in the matter; and, the allies persisting in the same disposition, the congress began to be looked upon from all sides as a thing ended before it began. The allies took this pretence for a declaration from *France* of their resolution there should be no treaty at present; and grounded it upon some great expectation or design they had upon further progresses in *Sicily*, or new ones in *Naples*; or else from hopes of bringing in the *Poles* to the assistance of *Sweden*.

But the truth was, that *France* had been forced to discover upon this incident what they had always at heart: and I ever observed in the course of all these negotiations, that there were three points for which *France* thought the war worth continuing to the last extremity; which were, rather than restore *Lorraine*, or *Burgundy*, or leave a good frontier on both sides of the *Spanish* territories in *Flanders*. The two first would hinder the progress of their great design, whether of extending their empire only to the *Rhine*, or beyond it: the last would hinder their conquest of *Flanders*, whenever they pursued the finishing of that adventure, by leaving a passage for the *Germans* to relieve it, and by so great and dangerous a diversion as entering *France* through *Lorraine* or *Burgundy*.

His Majesty most certainly disapproved, and was surpris'd with this pretence of *France* to the duchy of *Lorrain*; but yet was prevail'd with by Monsieur *De Ruvigny* to offer the expedient of his Majesty, as Mediator, giving all passports necessary to the congress at *Nimeguen*. Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* in this matter acted the part rather of a *Burgomaster* of *Amsterdam*, than an *Ambassador* of the States; and to make court to that town, which began to express great impatience for the peace, he assured his Majesty, that his masters could not fail of consenting to this expedient. I foresaw it would be refused, and gave his Majesty notice of it before I propos'd it to the States, as thinking his honour, and that of the mediation, concerned in such a refusal; but, receiving direct orders to propose it, I did so. The States told me, they would of themselves consent to this, or whatever else his Majesty should propose; but, having communicated it to their allies, they would not hear of it; some refusing it with heat, and reflection upon his Majesty's partiality to *France*; others with sullenness and silence, referring themselves to new orders from their masters.

Hereupon the congress grew wholly desperate, and all parties prepared for the field without any other view, for the three months following the first rise of this pretension. In the mean time there pass'd a fight between the *French*, and *Dutch* and *Spanish* ships, near *Messina*; wherein *De Ruyter* was shot in the heel by a cannon-bullet, of which he died within few days after, and determin'd the greatest loss to have certainly happen'd on that side, by that of the ablest Sea-Captain of his age, and the best servant that any Prince or State could have: for the rest, the advantage was not considerable on either part in this fight, nor the consequence material in the progress of the *French* arms in *Sicily*, or in any prospect of great enterprises upon *Naples*. On the other side, the *Swedish* affairs went

went very ill in *Pomerania*, and were threatened with great invasions the following campaign, both from *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*. This decryed the counsels of those persons that engaged them in this quarrel. Two Ambassadors, Count *Oxenstiern* and *Olivereans*, were appointed for the treaty at *Nimeguen*, who had ever been of the sentiments of the faction which now began to prevail in the *Swedish* Court: they grew impatient for a peace, and for the treaty in order to it; they declared their disapproval of the *French* pretension raised to *Lorraine*, which seemed only to obstruct it; and that they would send their Ministers to the congress, whether the *French* came or not: and their Commissary at the *Hague* so well seconded these new dispositions of his Court, that, whilst the congress looked desperate by the declared obstinacy of both sides upon the point of *Lorraine*, ships and passports were dispatched by the States, with consent of their allies, to fetch the *Swedish* Ambassadors from *Gottenburg* into *Holland*.

The confederates were besides much animated in their hopes, from the dispositions and humours expressed in a late session of Parliament in *England*; which grew so high against the *French*, or at least upon that pretence, against the present conduct of his Majesty or his Ministers, that the King prorogued them about *Christmas*, before any of the matters projected by the warm men amongst the house of Commons were brought into form.

The *French* were upon their march into *Flanders*, and that King at the head of a great and brave army threatened some great enterprise. The Prince was preparing to go away into the field, with resolution and hopes of having the honour of a battle at the opening of the campaign; all thoughts of the congress meeting before the end of it were laid aside; when about the middle of *May* I was extremely surprised

prised to receive a packet from Secretary *Williamson*, with the *French* passports for the Duke of *Lorraine's* Ministers, in the form and with the styles demanded by the allies. And hereupon, all difficulties being removed, the passports were exchanged by the end of *May*.

Some days were lost, by a new demand of the allies for passports likewise for the Duke of *Newburg's* Ministers, who was newly entered into the common alliance; and the same paces were expected likewise from the Duke of *Bavaria* (at least so the *Germans* flattered themselves or their friends.) Upon this, some of the Ministers of the allies at the *Hague*, whose masters were very unwilling the congress should begin before the campaign ended, prevailed with the States to send Deputies to me, to demand passports for the Duke of *Newburg*, and any other Princes that should enter into their alliance; and to declare, that, if these were refused by *France*, they would look upon what had been already granted as void.

I was something surpris'd at so unexpected a message from the States; and told their Deputies, That such a resolution was unpracticable; that his Majesty had undertaken to procure passports for the parties engaged in the war, and all the allies they had named on both sides, which was done, and thereupon the congress ready to begin; and such a delay, as this would occasion, was both a disrespect to his Majesty, and that could not be consented to by *France*, nor the reciprocal of it by any of the allies that foresaw the consequences which might happen upon it: that some ally of *France* might fall off to the confederates, or some of the confederates to *France*; and with such circumstances, as it could not be expected either of them should think fit to give passports, or treat with them at the congress; nor was it a thing in any form, to demand passports without naming for whom they should

should be. After several other exceptions, the Deputies desired me to let them represent my reasons against it to the States, and to expect their answer till the next afternoon; and one of them told me, as he went out, that I had all the reason in the world, and that they had been too easy in it upon the instances of some allies. Next day the Deputies came to let me know the States had altered their resolution, and desired only, that his Majesty would procure passports for the Duke of *Newburg's* Ministers; which I easily undertook. This change had not passed without violent heats between the States Deputies and the Ministers of some allies, who pressed them so far, that one of the Deputies answered him, *Que pretendez vous donc, Messieurs, de nous faire decbirer par la canaille?* [Do you intend then, Gentlemen, to make us be torn in pieces by the rabble?] Which shews the disposition that ran so generally at this time throughout the trading Provinces towards a peace.

There remained now but one preliminary undetermined, which was, To fix some extent of neutral country about the place of congress. *France* would have extended it two leagues round; the allies would have it bounded on one side by the river *Waal*, upon which *Nimeguen* stood, and was divided by it from the *Betuwe*, a part of the Province of *Holland*, and through which lay the straight road into the rest of that country. Both these proposals were grounded upon the same reason: that of *France*, to facilitate the commerce of their Ambassadors with the towns of *Holland*, incite the desires, and enter into practices of peace distinct from the motions of the congress: that of the allies, to prevent or incumber the too easy and undiscovered passage of the *French* emissaries upon this occasion. However, both were positive in their opinions; so as this matter came not to be determined till some time after the congress began, and but lamely then.

C H A P. II.

THE Prince was now ready to go into the field, and told me, That, before he went, he must have some talk with me in private, and at leisure; and to that purpose he desired it might be in the garden of *Honflaerdyck*. We appointed the hour, and met accordingly. He told me, I would easily believe, that, being the only son that was left of his family, he was often pressed by his friends to think of marrying, and had many persons proposed to him, as their several humours led them: that, for his own part, he knew it was a thing to be done at one time or other; but that he had hitherto excused the thoughts of it, otherwise than in general, till the war was ended: that, besides his own friends, the deputies of the States began to press him more earnestly every day, and the more, as they saw the war like to continue; and perhaps they had more reason to do it than any others: that he had at last promised them he would think of it more seriously and particularly, and so he had, and resolved he would marry; but the choice of a person he thought more difficult: that he found himself inclined to no proposals had been made him out of *France* or *Germany*, nor indeed to any that had been mentioned upon this occasion by any of his friends, but that of *England*: that, before he concluded to make any paces that way, he was resolved to have my opinion upon two points; but yet would not ask it, unless I promised to answer him as a friend, or at least an indifferent person, and not as the King's Ambassador. When I told him he should be obeyed, he went on, and said, That he would confess to me, during the late war, neither the States, nor he in particular, were without applications from several persons, and considerable, in *England*, who would

would fain have engaged them to head the discontents that were raised by the conduct of the Court in that whole war, which he knew was begun and carried on quite contrary to the humour of the nation, and might perhaps have proved very dangerous to the Crown, if it had not ended as it did: that all these persons, who pretended to be much his friends, were extremely against any thoughts of his marrying in *England*; their reasons were, That he would by it lose all the esteem and interest he had there, and be believed to have run wholly into the dispositions and designs of the Court, which were generally thought so different from those of the nation, especially upon the point of religion, that his friends there did not believe the government could be long without some great disturbance, unless they changed their measures, which was not esteemed very likely to be done: and upon this he desired my thoughts as a friend. The next was upon the person and dispositions of the young Lady; for though it would not pass in the world for a prince to seem concerned in those particulars; yet, for himself, he would tell me, without any sort of affectation, that he was so, and in such a degree, that no circumstances of fortune or interest could engage him, without those of the person, especially those of humour and dispositions: that he might, perhaps, not be very easy for a wife to live with; he was sure he should not to such wives as were generally in the Courts of this age: that if he should meet with one to give him trouble at home, 'twas what he should not be able to bear, who was like to have enough abroad in the course of his life; and that, after the manner he was resolved to live with a wife, which should be the best he could, he would have one that he thought likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly depended on her disposition and education; and if I knew any thing particular of the Lady *Mary* in these points, he desired me to tell him freely.

I answered his Highness, That I was very glad to find he was resolved to marry, being what he owed his family and friends: that I was much more pleased that his inclination led him to endeavour it in *England*: that I thought it as much for his interest, as others of his *English* friends thought it was against it: that the King and his Highness would ever be able to do one another more good, and more harm, than any other Princes could do either of them, by being friends or enemies: that it was a great step to be one degree nearer the Crown, and in all appearance the next: that for his friends (as they pretended in *England*, they must see much farther than I did, to believe the King in any such dangers or difficulties as they imagined: that the Crown of *England* stood upon surer foundations than ever it had done in former times, and the more for what had passed in the last reign; and that I believed the people would be found better subjects than perhaps the King himself believed them: that it was however in his power to be as well with them as he pleased, and to make as short turns to such an end; if not, yet, with the help of a little good husbandry, he might pass his reign in peace, though not perhaps with so much ease at home, or glory abroad, as if he fell into the vein of his people: that if the Court were of sentiments different from those of his Highness, yet his advisers would make him a greater compliment in believing him as likely to induce the Court to his, as in concluding they would bring him to theirs; and, if that should happen, the most seditious men in *England* would be hard put to it to find an ill side in such a match: that, for the other point, I could say nothing to it, but that I had always heard my wife and my sister speak with all the advantage that could be of what they could discern in a Princess so young, and more from what they had been told by the Governess, with whom they had a particular friendship, and who they were

were sure took all the care that could be in so much of education as fell to her share.

After two hours discourse upon this subject, the Prince concluded he would enter upon this pursuit, and, in order to it, would write both to the King and the Duke, to beg their favour to him in it, and their leave that he might go over into *England* at the end of the campaign : that my wife, who was then going over upon my private affairs, should carry and deliver both his letters; and, during her stay there, should endeavour to inform herself the most particularly she could of all that concerned the person, humour and dispositions of the young Princess, in which he seemed so much concerned.

Within two or three days after these discourses, the Prince brought his letters to my wife, and went immediately to the army; and she went suddenly after into *England* with those dispatches, and left me preparing for my journey to *Nimeguen*, where the *Dutch* first, and after them the *French* Ambassadors were arrived, and consequently those of the two principal parties in the war.

Before I went, *Du Moulin* met my chaplain in the *Voorhout*, and told him he was so ill, that he knew he had not long to live; and that he could not die in quiet, without asking my pardon for so many false and injurious things as he confessed to have said of me since my last embassy in *Holland*, though he had before had all the esteem that could be for me. He desired my chaplain, since I had always refused to see him, that he would do this office for him, and ask my pardon as from a dying man. This *Du Moulin*, after having been much employed and favoured by my Lord *Arlington*, during the counsels and vogue of the triple alliance, and disgraced by him after the change of those measures in *England*, went over into *Holland*, was entertained by the Prince as one of his secretaries, grew

into great favour and confidence during the war, was made use of by the malecontents of *England* in their applications at the *Hague*; and was thought worth all my Lord *Arlington's* Instances and endeavours when he was at the *Hague*, to remove him from the Prince's service. I received afterwards commands to the same purpose, and compassed it not without time and difficulty: he had not been long laid aside when this happened; and whether that, or the knowledge of the Prince's late resolution to pursue the match in *England*, helped to break his heart; or whether it were a consumption, as his friends gave out, I know not; but he died soon after, and with him the intrigues of that party in *England*, that had for some time employed him, and busied his friends in *Holland*.

After many delays in the dispatch and exchange of the passports, I got loose from the *Hague* about the beginning of *July* 1676, upon my journey to *Nimeguen*; where the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, being already arrived, pressed very much for my coming, in regard Sir *Lionel Jenkins* excused himself from performing any acts or offices of the mediation till my arrival, and contented himself to pass only the usual visits. The dispositions I observed in the several parties towards the success of this congress, when I went in order to the opening of it, were very different, and very unlikely to draw it to any sudden issue; but only to attend and be governed by the successes of the several armies in the field, and the events expected from the actions of the campaign. The *French* had given all the facility they could for some months past to the forming of the congress, and made all the haste they could for their Ambassadors to be upon the place, desiring no better peace than upon the present plan of affairs; and hoping by their forwardness, and the great backwardness of some of the allies, to make way for some separate treaties with those

those among them who began to be impatient for peace. The house of *Austria* was fullen, as losers use to be, and so were very slow and resty in all their paces towards this treaty; the *Germans* hoping for great successes of their arms in this campaign, and the *Spaniards* flattering themselves with the interests his Majesty had in the preservation of *Flanders*, and with the part which the Parliament in *England* seemed of late to have taken in their affairs; and both were in hopes that something might arise from one of these sides, to make room for pretensions that could not be in countenance as things stood at present. The *Swede* was very earnest for a peace, as having more hopes of recovering himself that way, than by the course of a war. *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* were violent for continuing the war; finding the *Swedes* weak, divided, and unreliable by *France* any otherwise than with their money, and hoping to drive them this summer out of *Germany*. The States were very desirous of the peace, having no pretences of their own, but to get well out of a war that ruined their trade, and drained their money; but they durst not break from their confederates, not trusting *England* enough, nor *France* at all, so as to leave themselves in a condition of depending upon either of them after the peace should be made. One general thread ran through the counsels on both sides; on the *French*, to break the confidence and union of the confederacy by different paces and advances to the several parties in the course of the treaty; on the confederates, to preserve the same confidence and union with which they had carried on the war, even after the peace should be made. His Majesty, though he was offered by some of the parties to be arbiter, as well as mediator, in the present differences; and was known by them all to have it in his power to make that figure as he pleased; yet chose the other, and gave

us orders accordingly, only to perform the offices of a bare mediation, and to avoid the parties submitting their differences to his determination: so that, upon the whole, it was easy to foresee the congress would only prove a business of form; and proceed no otherwise than as it should be moved, or rather governed by the events of the field.

However, the opening of it might well be called the dawn of a peace, which put me in mind of the only prophesy of this sort that I have ever thought worth taking notice of, nor should I have done so, but that Monsieur *Colbert* shewed it me at my coming to *Nimeguen*, and made me remember to have seen it in my Lord *Arlington's* hands in the year 1668, who told me it was very old, and had been found in some abbey of *Germany*. It was in these terms:

Lilium intrabit in terram leonis, feras in brachiis gerens; aquila movebit alas, et in auxilium veniet filius hominis ab austro: tunc erit ingens bellum per totum terrarum orbem; sed post quatuor annos pax elucescet, et salus erit filio hominis unde exitium putabatur.

The lily shall invade the land of the lion, bearing wild beasts in its arms; the eagle shall move its wings, and the son of man shall come to his assistance from the south; then there shall be great war throughout the world; but after four years peace shall dawn, and the son of man be delivered by those from whom his ruin was expected.

Those, who have a mind to give credit to such prophecies from the course of events, must allow the *leopards* (the ancient arms of *England*) to be meant by the wild beasts; the King of *Spain* by the son of man; the

the congress at *Nimeguen* (four years after the war began) by the *dawn of peace*; and *Spain's* having been saved by the States and the Prince of *Orange*, by *those from whom its ruin was expected*. But I easily believe, that as most prophecies, which run in the world, arise from the contrivances of crafty, or the dreams of enthusiastical heads; and the sense of them (where there is any) lies wrapped up in mystical or incoherent expressions, fit to receive many sorts of interpretations; and some perhaps from the leisure of great wits that are ill employed, and seek diversion to themselves, by writing things at random, with the scornful thought of amusing the world about nothing; so others are broached for old, either after events happen, or when they are so probable as to be easily conjectured by foreseeing men: and it seems strange, that of the first kind (being so many) no more happen to be fulfilled, with the help of so much inclination to believe, as well as so much invention to wrest the meaning of words to the sense pretended. But whether this I mention may not have been one of the last kind is uncertain; for in that very year it was produced, and given my Lord *Arlington* by a *Frenchman* (as he told me) the design of this war was not only laying, but well advanced by the practices of Monsieur *Colbert* upon the ministers of our Court (where he was then Ambassador) and by the violent humour of my Lord *Clifford* to enter into the leagues then projected by *France*; so that, the very day the Parliament gave his Majesty a mighty sum of money, to compliment him upon so applauded a counsel and success as that of the triple alliance in the year 1668, that Lord, coming out of the house of Commons, where he was then a member, could not hold saying to a friend of mine who came out with him, That, for all this great joy, it must not be long before we have another war with *Holland*. And which of these two prophecies were the more

more to be considered, or the better inspired, I leave it to every one to guess as they please.

Nimeguen is seated upon the side of a hill, which is the last of *Germany*; and stoops upon the river *Waal*, which washes the lower part of the town, and divides it from the *Betuwe*, an island lying all upon flat low ground, between the *Waal* and the old *Rhine*, which was the ancient seat of those the *Romans* called *Batavians*, and, for their bravery and love of liberty, took into their confederacy, when they subjected all the neighbouring parts of *Gaul* and *Germany*. *Betuwe* and *Waal* were the ancient *German* names, and turned into *Batavia* and *Vahalis* by the *Roman* terminations, as *Cologn* and *Cleves* are *Roman* names changed into *German*. *Betuwe* signifies, in the old *German*, *fat earth*, as *Veluwe* (a great heathy country on t'other side the *Rhine*) does *coarse* or *barren earth*. Whether *Nimeguen* came from *Neomagum*, or *Neomagum* from *Nimeguen*, I cannot determine; but the old castle, as well as many antiquities found about it, shew it to have been a colony of the *Romans*; and it is seated in very good air, encompassed on three sides by great and dry heaths, as well as built, and inhabited by a good sort of people.

I excused myself from letting the Magistrates of *Nimeguen* know what time I designed my arrival there, though they sent to inform themselves while I was upon the way; and I refused any ceremonies at entry, to prevent that pretence in other Ambassadors, and the troubles and disturbances such public receptions might occasion. However I could not escape some part of it, for which I had like to have paid a great deal more than it was worth. The river of *Nimeguen* is very rapid in the midst of the stream, which lies near the town, and spreads very broad upon the other side to the *Betuwe*, being upon flat grounds. The first part of it is passed by a very large ferry-boat, which held at once my two coaches and six horses, one

one waggon, and my trunks, eight saddle-horses, and would have received many more. This boat is of a contrivance so singular, as well as so commodious, that I have much wondered never to have seen it practised in any other place; for the force of the stream drives the boat cross the river without the least pains of the men, being kept to its course by a strong cable extended from one side to the other, and fastened to a pully set up for that purpose in the boat; so that no stress of weather hinders this passage, and the harder the stream runs, the sooner it is made. Where the river grows shallow, and the current slack, on the *Besurwe* side, it is supplied by a bridge of planks for about two hundred paces, which are ill kept, many loose or shaking, and no defence on the sides. When my coaches were upon this bridge, the cannon of the town began to fire, and so continued all the while I was upon the river; which was a piece of civility well understood; but my horses were so unruly with that noise, and the clatter of the planks, that they were much likelier to have carried me into the river than into the boat. But when, with the help of my servants on foot that led them, we got in there, we were safe as in a house, and got well away to the town where I landed at Sir *Lionel Jenkin's* house, and staid there till late in the evening, to avoid any visits or ceremonies that night.

The next day I was visited by the *French Ambassadors*. With Monsieur *D'Avaux* passed little but what was common upon such occasions: But the Marshal *D'Estrades* and Monsieur *Colbert*, being of my particular acquaintance in my former embassies at the *Hague* and *Aix la Chapelle*, pretended, in their first separate visits, to enter with me upon points and terms of great confidence, and upon matters that gave me light into the whole design of *France* intended by the steps of this treaty, to which they had of late shewed so great forwardness

forwardness, at least in the forming of this congress, and dispatch of their Ambassadors, before those of the allies were in any motion, or perhaps disposition towards it. They both told me, That they had express and private orders from the King their master, to make me particular compliments upon the esteem his Most Christian Majesty had for my person, and to make their application wholly to me in the course of this negotiation, though one of us Ministers Mediators came from residing in their own Court; but they knew very well I had the King my master's confidence as well as that of his Ministers; and, that having had the framing of this congress from the first overtures, and through all the preliminaries, there was no other hand but mine capable of finishing it; and therefore they presaged me all the glory of it: that I might reckon upon all the facility their master could give towards it; but that after such successes in the war, and at the head of so great forces both at land and sea, it could not be expected he should yield to restore what his arms had conquered. On the other side, they knew very well, that though the States were bent upon the peace, yet the forwardness or extravagant demands of their allies would engage them as long as they could in the war, unless the Prince of *Orange* would interpose his authority, which was so great with all the allies, that they were sure of their consenting to whatever terms the Prince should be resolute in proposing for the peace: that, to draw it therefore to a happy issue, there was no way but for his Highness first to agree privately with *France* upon the conditions, and what every party should content themselves with; and afterwards, in the course of the treaty, to draw all things, by concert together, to the scope agreed between them; in which the Prince might make use of the known temper of the States to bring it to a sudden issue, and to make a separate peace, in case the

unreasonable

unreasonable pretences of their allies should hinder or delay a general one : that this part was acted by the Elector of *Bavaria* at *Munster*, who was in private concert with *France* through the whole proceedings of that treaty, though he went on with the allies in the public transactions : that he owed the greatness of his house to this counsel, and to the consideration and support it had ever since received from the Crown of *France* : that, by pursuing the same at *Nimeguen*, it would be in the Prince of *Orange's* power to do the same for himself and his family ; and that, for what concerned his own personal interests and advantages, their master had given them power to assure him, he should have *Carte Blanche*, and draw his own conditions upon it : that though they had other ways of making this overture to the Prince, yet they had order to do it by none but me, if I would charge myself with it : that they knew the credit and confidence I was in with the Prince, and how far he would defer to my opinions in what concerned the public interests of his allies as well as his own : and that, if I would espouse this affair, besides the glory of having alone given a peace to *Christendom*, I might reckon upon what I pleased myself from the bounty and generosity of the King their master.

This was the sum of what was said by them both, though in several and private visits ; but I observed Monsieur *Colbert* to have been instructed with more particular confidence, and to design it with me, even apart from both his colleagues and mine, in the pursuit of this intelligence ; but Monsieur *D'Estrades* valued himself chiefly upon his entering into it with me preferable to all others, though he had several other ways of doing it with the Prince, as well as into what practices he should think fit with the States, by the help of so many friendships and habitudes as I knew

he had contracted in *Holland*, during so long a course of employments there.

I answered, That I was obliged to his Most Christian Majesty for his good opinion, and to them for giving it him, not having myself at all the honour of being known to him: that I should make no ill use of this great honour and confidence, whether I should be able to make a good one or not: that, for his Majesty's dispositions to promote the peace, they knew them as well as I; but that many considerations had engaged him to instruct us the Mediators only to promote a general peace, and not to enter into any paces towards any particular one, or separate, between the parties, which such a private and previous concert between *France* and the Prince of *Orange* would look very like, and therefore I did not see how I could enter upon it without particular orders from the King: that, besides, I would confess to them, that I did not think they would be of any great effect, should I receive such orders; and that the best service I could do them (the Ambassadors) was to let them know very freely all that I knew, or at least thought, of the Prince of *Orange*, and his dispositions in this great affair, that they might the better guess what paces to expect from him: that I was sure he desired the peace as much as the States could do; that the weak conduct of *Spain*, and distracted counsels of the empire, were enough to force him upon it, without many other circumstances that were too well known to trouble them with: that the Prince knew very well there would be no difficulty at all in the terms of a peace between *France* and *Holland*, and that all would arise from their allies, who had entered into the war only in their defence: that their faith and honour were since engaged by many treaties concluded with them, and which hindered them from making any separate peace: that, in all those treaties, the Prince's honour was more particularly engaged,
upon

upon which personally the several confederate Princes were known to rely more, than upon any public resolution or instrument of the States: that, if any ways could be found, or offers made towards bringing his Highness out of this war, with the safety of his honour, by the satisfaction of his allies, upon any sort of terms, I was sure he would fall into them with all the joy that could be; but to break from them, against all faith and agreements, by separate measures, I believed he would never be induced, but by the last extremities of the war, or necessities at home: and that, for his own personal interests, I was confident no advantages, to be offered him, would ever be considered by his Highness, how great soever; but that two or three towns, more or less, to the *Spaniards*, for the strength of their frontier in *Flanders*, would prevail more with him than all could be done for his interest in *Orange* or *Burgundy*; and that all other propositions of advantages more than were avowed in the course of the treaty were, I believed, what he would take ill from any that should make them; and yet, whenever I saw him next, I would tell him of all that had passed in this conversation: but, for the deference they believed his Highness might have for my sentiments, I would assure them, my opinion was, he had none for mine, or any man's else, further than as their arguments prevailed upon his judgment: that he had sense enough to govern himself, and I believed he would always trust to it, though he might advise with other men.

After these conversations, during the time I staid at *Nimeguen*, Monsieur *Colbert* made many small attacks of this kind upon me, and sometimes contented himself only to let fall some things in conversation, to try if I was disposed to enter further upon that subject: But the Marechal *D'Estrades* immediately after began to turn his battery another way, which was upon the Pensioner *Fagel*, by the intervention of a person of *Maastricht*

Maestricht, many of whose letters the Pensioner shewed me upon the same occasion; and with all the offers that could be made of consideration and advantage to the interests of the Prince of *Orange*; which met with no other reception from his highness than what I foretold.

After the first visits between us and the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, whom only we found at *Nimeguen*, we received a visit from the magistrates of the town, who told us, they had order from the States to remit the government of the city to our disposition, during the present treaty; and to proceed no otherways in it, than according to such orders as they should receive from us the Mediators. We told them, it was his Majesty's pleasure, that we should not at all intermeddle with it, but that, on the contrary, we should consign into the hands of the ordinary Justice of the town any of our domestics that should be guilty of any crime against the peace or government of the place; and that justice should be done upon them, according to their faults; and that we should not take upon us to withdraw or protect them from the ordinary course of justice, by the rights and privileges of that character his Majesty had given us.

After this we applied ourselves to propose some regulations for the order and quiet of so numerous an assembly as this was like to prove (in a town but too strait, and composed of narrow streets) and to the establishment of some compass of neutral country about it, for the convenience and divertisement of the company that should compose it. For the first, we gave in a paper to the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, with certain articles, to which we desired their consent; not doubting, but all others, that should come after, would easily fall into what they should previously agree to upon our desire. They were these, as we gave them in *French*, the language used in all conferences, and most papers, that passed in this treaty.

1. *Que pour éviter les inconveniens qui pourroient arriver par le grand nombre de trains dans des rues, qui sont si étroites, & entre des coins si incommodes, les Ambassadeurs Mediateurs proposent, de ne faire les visites, mesme celles de ceremonie, qu'avec chacun Ambassadeur deux pages & quatre laquais, & un carosse, à deux chevaux; & de n'aller à aucune place de conference, ou autres lieux publics avec plus d'un page & deux laquais à chaque Ambassadeur.*

2. *Qu'en cas de rencontre de carosses dans les lieux trop étroits pour le passage de l'un & de l'autre, chacun, au lieu de s'embarasser pour le pas, y apportera toute sorte de facilité, & s'arrêtera le premier quand il sera le premier averti que le passage est trop étroit, & fera place en cas que de son costé cela se trouve le plus facile.*

3. *Que le laquais ne portera point espée, baton ni baguette, par les rues; ni les pages plus que de baguette seulement.*

4. *Que les Ambassadeurs sur aucun crime commis par aucun de leurs domestiques contre la paix publique, renonceront à la protection des dits domestiques, & les remettront aussitôt entre les mains de la Justice de la ville, la prians & autorisans de pro-*

1. That for avoiding the inconveniences which may happen by the great number of trains in the streets; which are so narrow, and turnings so incommodious, the Ambassadors Mediators propose, not to make any visits, even those of ceremony, with more than two pages and four lackeys each Ambassador; and one coach, with two horses; and not to go to any place of conference, or other public places, with more than one page and two lackeys to every Ambassador.

2. That when coaches meet in too narrow places, where there is not room to pass by one another, every one, instead of contending for precedence, shall mind rather to make the passage easy to each other, and stop first if he have the first notice that the passage is too strait, and give place to the other, in case it be more easy on his side.

3. That lackeys shall not wear a sword, nor carry a staff or stick in the streets; nor pages any more than a little stick.

4. That the Ambassadors, upon any crime committed against the public peace, by any of their domestics, shall renounce all protection of the said domestics, and deliver them up into the hands of the Magistrates of the city; de-

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ceder contre eux selon les regles ordinaires.

5. *Qu'en cas de quelque insulte ou querelle faite par aucun de leurs domestiques contre ceux d'aucun autre Ambassadeur ou Ministre public, les Ambassadeurs remettront tels domestiques entre les mains du maistre de la partie offensée pour estre punis a sa discretion.*

firing and authorising them to proceed against them according to their ordinary rules.

5. That in case any insult or quarrel be made by the domestics of one Ambassador, against those of another Ambassador or public Minister, the Ambassadors shall deliver up such of their domestics into the hands of the master of the party offended, to be punished at his discretion.

The *French* Ambassadors received this paper with much approbation and compliment to us, upon the design and conception of it, and said they were ready to give their full consent to every part of it, excepting only the second article; but upon this they could not, without first acquainting their master, from whom they had orders to maintain, upon all occasions, the rank that *Spain* had yielded to them by treaty; so that they could not stop or make way for the Ministers of that Crown, though they would do it for those of *Brandenburg*. We told them, we doubted not the Emperor's Ambassadors would be content to fall into the general rule for so good an end; and that for ourselves the Mediators (who were out of all competition by that quality) were resolved to practise it with the rest, and give the example.

The *French* Ambassadors seemed satisfied, in their own opinions; but, however, desired they might first communicate it to their Court. The *Dutch* Ambassadors wholly approved of it, and resolved to conform their practices accordingly, unless they found other Ambassadors should decline it. However, about a fortnight after, the *French* Ambassadors, upon dispatches from their Court, began to change their language;

guage; and told us, That for the first article Monsieur *De Pomponne* thought it not necessary to restrain the numbers of Ambassadors trains, since they were well provided against disorders by the following articles: that, besides, this would in a manner level the Ambassadors of the greatest Kings with the Ministers of smaller Princes, at least in the eyes of the *menu peuple* [*the vulgar,*] who measure the dignity of persons by the train that attend them. For the second article, they consented to it, with an apostyle of their own upon it, providing, that it should not prejudice the rights of any Princes, nor ever be drawn into consequence in any other place or time: we found by these answers, that the *French* Ambassadors had less vanity than their Court, and wondered to find it so avowed, and to descend to circumstances so low and so minute: for though vanity be a weakness, or a fault, that the fewest men are without; yet it is that, of all others, that the fewest will own; and few private men, though perhaps affected with the gazes and opinion of the rabble that fill the streets as they pass, will yet pretend or confess to consider them. However, we thought best to let it pass, and the rather, because we knew it was no more the sense of the *French* Ambassadors than ours; for which they had one more particular reason, which was the noise that ran of the magnificent preparations and equipage designed by the Marquis *De Balbaces* and Count *Antoine* towards their appearance in this congress; the first whereof was one of the richest subjects of *Spain*, heir and descendant of the famous *Spinola*; and the other had great revenues from the Duke of *Oldenburg*, (being his natural son) and was chosen by *Denmark* on purpose to appear with lusture in this embassy: and the *French* Ambassadors apprehended, either being outshined by these at their arrival, or being engaged in greater expences upon the vye than they expected from their Court; which usually
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leaves those kinds of services to future rewards, by succeeding employments and advances, rather than present supplies. When we received this answer from them, we only said Monsieur *Pomponé's* reasoning from the *menu peuple* [*the vulgar*] seemed a little below the greatness of his master, or the style of a great Minister; but that we should acquaint the *Dutch* Ambassadors with it, that they might be at liberty to retract the consent they had already given, since they, the *French*, seemed to have done so; but that, for ourselves, we would observe at least the rules we had proposed to others, and let them follow either the rules or examples as they pleased. The *French* would by no means allow to have refused them, and said, they had only told us Monsieur *Pomponé's* reflexions upon them; but that they could not absolutely consent till they had concerted with their allies, the *Swedish* Ambassadors, whose arrival they daily expected. However, though they were by these wholly approved, yet the *French* Ambassadors, during the assembly, made all their first visits with the three several Ambassadors coaches and six horses, and the whole number of their train; which sometimes reached further than the space between their houses, and of the Ministers where the visit was paid. But we continued to make ours only with two horses, and the number of servants we had proposed; and the rest of the rules were observed by all with so good effect, that, for one whole year I resided there together, there never happened any disorder or complaint from so numerous trains.

For the neutral country, we at first proposed by concert with the *French* Ambassadors, to extend it about three leagues, so as to take in the town of *Cleves* which has been always celebrated for one of the pleasantest seats of *Germany*; but, upon transmitting this proposal to the *French* court a resolution came back to their Ambassadors, to admit only two leagues from *Nime-*
to

guen, and that to continue subject to contribution, and to execution upon failure of that being paid, as was usual, to the garrison of *Maestricht*. This we thought unpracticable, with the safety of the Ambassadors or their retinues, that should make use of a neutrality subject to inroads of armed troops, upon pretence of contribution, and admitted of many disputes. The *French* Ambassadors had orders from their court to go out of town, upon any occasion of airing and entertainment: the *Dutch* desired us to let the *French* know, the States could not be answerable for their doing it, safely, till a neutral county were established, without being liable to contribution. After some time, rather than continue prisoners to the town, or venture the inconvenience and danger of parties ranging within the bounds of a neutral country, a compass was agreed, about two *English* miles from the town; and marked out with several great posts erected to that purpose, within which all persons should have liberty, and no soldier should be suffered to come in upon any pretext whatsoever.

Several pretensions were raised at the opening of this congress (which was reckoned from the time of two Mediators arrival upon the place) about the right of several Princes to send Ambassadors, and many disputes arose upon them. It had been agreed, at the treaty of *Munster*, that every Elector should be allowed to send a minister thither, with the character of Ambassador; but, if they sent more than one in commission, that the first only should be treated with excellence, and other ceremonies of Ambassadors. This rule we agreed to follow at *Nimeguen*: and the Elector of *Brandenburg* sent two Ambassadors thither; but we treated the first only with the usual ceremonies, and left the other to his pretences and complaints. The *French* followed our example; and the other Ambassadors did some one, some the other, according as their

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interests engaged them to comply with that Elector in this pretence.

Upon admission of the Electors to send Ambassadors to the congress, the same pretence was soon after raised by the Dukes of *Lorrain*, *Neuburg* and *Lunenburg*: much altercation was used upon this subject, but the precedents alledged not being found without dispute, the thing lay quiet, and their envoys arrived after some time at *Nimeguen*.

We agreed, neither to give the first visit, nor the hand in our houses, to any character under that of Ambassador; nor to other persons of quality, that were not either Counts of the empire, or General officers of armies.

There was no dispute about the rank with the Mediators, the *French* having first yielded it by order of their court, till the *Imperialists* came, who neither yielded nor refused it, but seemed desirous to have that mark of distinction allowed between the Emperor's Ambassadors and those of all other crowned heads. We held on our pretence of it from these, as well as the rest; but kept it from coming to any decision till the very signing of the treaty; finding the Emperor not inclined to yield it, and knowing, that, if it were refused there, the admission granted by the rest might come to be retracted upon that example.

The other Ambassadors were left to their usual pretences: the *French*, that all should yield to them; and the rest, of none yielding to one another; in which the *Swedes* carried the point, even with their allies the *French*, as nicely and positively as any others.

The *Swedes* arrived about the middle of *August*, sent first to us, and then to the *French*, to notify their arrival. This happened late in the evening; so we deferred our compliments and desires of an hour till next morning. The *French* made theirs the same night to Monsieur *Oxenstiern*, the first in commission, who gave

gave them an hour the next morning ; and to our Secretaries, who came to them about that time, they gave an hour in the afternoon. The visits were made accordingly ; but, upon our insisting that the first visit ought to be returned to the Mediators, from whomsoever the first should be received ; the *Swedish* Ambassadors, after some time to consider it, determined the point, and made us the first visit, though the *French* had first made it to them. And this was observed by the Ambassadors that afterwards arrived, during my residence there.

I remember no other points of the ceremonial, that seem to have been established by the course of this assembly, unless it was one particular to ourselves, who declared that we would dine with no Ambassador till the peace was concluded, being desirous to avoid the trouble and engagements of perpetual invitations, as well as the unkindness of excuses at one time, or to some person more than another ; but our own tables were open, each of us three days in the week, two post-days being reserved to ourselves for business, and one for diversion or exercise abroad ; and several of the Ambassadors, especially the *French*, came to our tables, notwithstanding this resolution, which they seemed to take a little to heart. But, to make amends, we divided the nights by turns. Where there were any Ladies in the Ambassadors houses, and where the evenings were spent in dancing or play, or careles and easy suppers or collations ; in these entertainments, as I seldom failed of making a part, and my colleague never had any, so it gave occasion for a good saying that passed upon it, *Que la mediation estoit tousjours en pied pour faire sa fonction*, [*That the mediation was always in a posture to go on with its business ;*] for I used to go to bed, and rise late ; while my colleague was a-bed by eight, and up by four : and to say truth, two more different

interests engaged them to comply with that Elector in this pretence.

Upon admission of the Electors to send Ambassadors to the congress, the same pretence was soon after raised by the Dukes of *Lorrain*, *Neuburg* and *Lunenburg*: much altercation was used upon this subject, but the precedents alledged not being found without dispute, the thing lay quiet, and their envoys arrived after some time at *Nimeguen*.

We agreed, neither to give the first visit, nor the hand in our houses, to any character under that of Ambassador; nor to other persons of quality, that were not either Counts of the empire, or General officers of armies.

There was no dispute about the rank with the Mediators, the *French* having first yielded it by order of their court, till the *Imperialists* came, who neither yielded nor refused it, but seemed desirous to have that mark of distinction allowed between the Emperor's Ambassadors and those of all other crowned heads. We held on our pretence of it from these, as well as the rest; but kept it from coming to any decision till the very signing of the treaty; finding the Emperor not inclined to yield it, and knowing, that, if it were refused there, the admission granted by the rest might come to be retracted upon that example.

The other Ambassadors were left to their usual pretences: the *French*, that all should yield to them; and the rest, of none yielding to one another; in which the *Swedes* carried the point, even with their allies the *French*, as nicely and positively as any others.

The *Swedes* arrived about the middle of *August*, sent first to us, and then to the *French*, to notify their arrival. This happened late in the evening; so we deferred our compliments and desires of an hour till next morning. The *French* made theirs the same night to Monsieur *Oxenstiern*, the first in commission, who gave

gave them an hour the next morning ; and to our Secretaries, who came to them about that time, they gave an hour in the afternoon. The visits were made accordingly ; but, upon our insisting that the first visit ought to be returned to the Mediators, from whomsoever the first should be received ; the *Swedish* Ambassadors, after some time to consider it, determined the point, and made us the first visit, though the *French* had first made it to them. And this was observed by the Ambassadors that afterwards arrived, during my residence there.

I remember no other points of the ceremonial, that seem to have been established by the course of this assembly, unless it was one particular to ourselves, who declared that we would dine with no Ambassador till the peace was concluded, being desirous to avoid the trouble and engagements of perpetual invitations, as well as the unkindness of excuses at one time, or to some person more than another ; but our own tables were open, each of us three days in the week, two post-days being reserved to ourselves for business, and one for diversion or exercise abroad ; and several of the Ambassadors, especially the *French*, came to our tables, notwithstanding this resolution, which they seemed to take a little to heart. But, to make amends, we divided the nights by turns. Where there were any Ladies in the Ambassadors houses, and where the evenings were spent in dancing or play, or careless and easy suppers or collations ; in these entertainments, as I seldom failed of making a part, and my colleague never had any, so it gave occasion for a good saying that passed upon it, *Que la mediation estoit tousjours en pied pour faire sa fonction*, [*That the mediation was always in a posture to go on with its business ;*] for I used to go to bed, and rise late ; while my colleague was a-bed by eight, and up by four : and to say truth, two more different

different men were never joined in one commission, nor agreed better in it.

For business, there was very little for many months after the congress began, till the arrival of the *Imperial* ministers; only the *French* Ambassadors, soon after my coming, demanding an audience, came to make us the offer of exhibiting their *plein-pouvoirs* [full powers] into our hands, not doubting, as they said, of the *Dutch* being ready to do the same. But, upon our acquainting the *Dutch* Ambassadors with this overture, they told us, that it was in the choice of the *French* Ambassadors to do it when they pleased; but they did not conceive the hastening of it would gain any time, since they had no orders to make that pace without a previous concert with their allies; and consequently, though the *French* should do it, yet they would, at present, neither exhibit their own, nor make any reflexions (as might be necessary) upon those of the *French*. From this answer, the *French* took occasion to press the *Dutch* extremely upon making instances to all their allies to hasten to the treaty, or else to declare that they would enter into affairs without them; and not without some intimation of their master's being resolved to recall them, in case this was refused, or much longer delayed. The *Dutch* excused the retardments given to the treaty so long, by the many difficulties raised by the *French* court upon occasion of the passports, which were not yet dispatched to some of their new allies; but however, promised to acquaint the States with these instances, and endeavour to dispose them to fix some time, by which they would order their Ambassadors to enter into matter, unless the ministers of the allies were arrived at *Nimeguen*.

In these, and several other points, interceding between the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, we carried the proposals and answers from one to the other, at their houses, by word of mouth; which continued till the

the assembly was compleated, and a place of conference, with much difficulty, agreed at the stadthouse of *Nimeguen*; where, after many difficulties between the two confederacies, and many more between the parties that composed each of them, two chambers were at length agreed for the parties, and one for the Mediators, by which our pains was lessened, but without other advantage; nor was there any point that gave us more trouble than the adjusting this among the parties: for the *French* were, from the very first, most declaredly averse from treating, either by writings, or from agreeing to a place of publick conference; conceiving this would tend to keep the body of the confederacy united in the treaty, as well as the war; whereas their design was to break that union here, which they could not in the field, and find some way or other of entering into separate measures for a peace with some of the parties engaged. In the mean time the allies found, or took as many occasions as they could, of delaying the dispatch of their ministers to the congress, while they had hopes of hindering the *Dutch* from proceeding without them; and that they believed might be done till this campaign should end; from the event whereof the several Princes might the better take their measures for the conditions of a peace that should be proposed or insisted on in this treaty. And this disposition of theirs was so well pursued, that no other Ambassadors arrived at *Nimeguen* till November; though we and the *French*, and the *Dutch*, had been so long upon the place, and the *Swedes* soon after us.

In the mean time the successes of the campaign, that were expected absolutely to govern the motions of the treaty, were various as to the gross of the war, but ran as high to the advantage of the *French*, as to the disadvantage of the *Swedish* affairs. By force of great treasures, and the great order in disposing them, the
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French magazines were always filled in the winter, so as to enable them to take the field as they pleased in the spring, without fearing the weather for their foot, or expecting grafs for their horse. On the other side, the *Spaniards* want of money and order, left their troops in *Flanders*, neither capable to act by themselves, upon any sudden attempt, nor to supply with provisions in their march, either *Dutch* or *Germans* that should come to their relief. Their towns were ill fortified, and worse defended; so that the King of *France*, marching in the head of a brave and numerous army, took *Conde* in four days, in the month of *April*, this year 1676, before any of the confederates were in the field; and in *May* sent the Duke of *Orleans* to besiege *Bouchain*, with some part of his troops, being a small, though strong place, and very considerable for its situation to the defence of the *Spanish Netherlands*. The King, with the strength of his army, posted himself so advantageously, as to hinder the Prince of *Orange* from being able to relieve it, or to fight without disadvantage.

The Prince struggled through all the difficulties from the season, or want of provisions and magazines in *Flanders*, and marched with his army in sight of the *French* King by the middle of *May*. The armies continued some days facing one another, and several times drawing out in order to a battle, which neither of them thought fit to begin; whether not willing to hazard, without necessity or advantage, so decisive an action as this was like to prove; or whether the *French* contented themselves to carry their point by hindering the relief of *Bouchain*, which must fall without it; while the Prince of *Orange* was withheld by the *Spaniards* from pursuing his, which was to give a battle that the *Spaniards* knew could not be lost without the loss of *Flanders*. The armies continued facing one another till *Bouchain* was surrendered the eighth day of the

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the siege. The Prince returned to refresh his army, harrassed with so hasty a march upon so sudden preparations; and the King of *France* returned home, leaving his army under the Marshal *De Schomberg*, to attend the motions of the enemies. The Prince fell into concert with the *Spaniards* and *German* Princes near the lower *Rhine* for the siege of *Maestricht*; which, though the strongest of the *Dutch* frontiers when it was taken, had been yet fortified by the *French* since they possessed it, with all the advantages of art and expence, and with a garrison of eight thousand chosen men, under *Galvo*, a resolute *Catalonian*, who commanded there under the Marshal *D'Estrades* governor of the place, but then at *Nimeguen*.

About the end of *July* the trenches were opened by the Prince, and the siege carried on with such bravery, so many and desperate assaults for about three weeks; that as wagers were continually offered, with odds, at *Nimeguen*, that it would be taken within such or such a time, so we did not observe the Marshal *D'Estrades* was willing to take them, or seemed at all confident it would be so well defended. The Prince, or the *Rhin-grave* (who was designed for governor of the town, as his father had been) was ever in the head of the attacks; and made great use, as well as proof of the desperate courage of the *English* troops, upon all those occasions: Many of the out-works were taken, with great slaughter on both sides; but were supplied by new retrenchments, and by all the art and industry of a resolute Captain, and brave soldiers within. About the middle of *August*, the Prince, exposing himself upon all occasions, received a musket shot in his arm; at which perceiving those about him were daunted, he immediately pulled off his hat with the arm that was hurt, and waved it about his head, to shew the wound was but in the flesh, and the bone safe; at which they all revived, and the Prince went on without interruption in

in all the paces of the siege. But a cruel sickness falling into his army, weakened it more than all the assaults they had given the town. The *Germans* came not up with the supplies they had promised, and upon which assurance the siege was undertaken; and the *Rhingrave*, who, next the Prince, was the spring of this action, happening to be wounded soon after, was forced to leave the camp for a castle in the neighbourhood, where he died: by all which the army grew disheartened, and the siege faint. In the mean time, Monsieur *De Schomberg*, who trusted to a vigorous defence at *Maestricht*, had besieged and taken *Aire*; and, after the Prince's army was weakened by the accidents of the siege, marched with all the *French* forces thro' the heart of the *Spanish* Low-Countries, to the relief of *Maestricht*; upon whose approach, and the resolutions of a council of war in the Prince's camp, the siege was raised, and with it the campaign ended in the *Dutch* or *Spanish* Provinces. And from this time the Prince of *Orange* began to despair of any success in the war, after such trials and experience of such weakness in the *Spanish* forces and conduct, and uncertainty in the *German* counsels or resolutions.

However, the imperial army took *Philipsburg* in the end of *September* this year 1676; which was yielded for want of provisions, and as much against common opinion and expectation, as the contrary event in the siege of *Maestricht*.

The affairs of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* prospered all this while against *Sweden*, with advantage in most of the sieges and encounters that passed this summer, and the first part of the winter following, so that the *Swedes* seemed to be losing apace all they had so long possessed in *Germany*: But the *Imperial* forces, though joined by those of the several Princes upon the upper *Rhine*, had made no progress in their designed conquests there, and were forced to seek their old quarters on
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the *German* side of the *Rhine* upon the approach of the *French*, which was a true and undisputed decision of the small success of this campaign.

After it was ended, the parties engaged in the war began to turn their thoughts, or at least their eyes, more towards the motions of the treaty than they had hitherto done. The Prince of *Orange* writ to me, desired to see me for a day or two at *Soesdyck* near *Amerfort*, about a day's journey from *Nimeguen*. He complained much, and with too much reason, of the conduct of his allies; the weakness, or rather uselessness of the *Spanish* troops in *Flanders*, for want of pay or order; the *Imperial* armies acting without design upon the *Rhine*, or with dependence upon orders from *Vienna*, where the emulation of the ministers made such distraction, and counter-paces of their Generals, that the campaign had passed with small effect, after the promises of vigorously invading either *Lorrain* or *France*: how the Dukes of *Lunenburg* had failed of sending their troops to *Maestricht*; which, with the sickness of the camp, had rendered that siege ineffectual: so that he began to despair of any good issue of the war; and would be glad to hear I hoped for a better of the peace, upon our scene at *Nimeguen*, after the paces and progress whereof he made particular inquiries. I told him how little advances had been hitherto made, by the slowness of his allies dispatching their Ministers thither; how little success could be expected from the pretensions of the parties when they should meet; especially *France* pretending to keep all they had got by the war, and *Spain* to recover all they had lost; how his Majesty seemed of the mind to concern himself no further than the paces of a Mediator, our orders being only to convey the mind or proposals of the parties from one to another, and even to avoid the offers of any references upon them to his Majesty's determination; so that my opinion was, that it must

be the war alone that must make the peace, and that I supposed it would do at one time or other, by the weakness or weariness of one of the parties.

The Prince seemed of my mind, and said, the events of the war would depend upon the conduct at *Madrid* and *Vienna* before next campaign; for, without some great successes, he did not believe the States would be induced to continue it longer. I told the Prince the discourses Monsieur *Colbert* had entertained me with upon my arrival at *Nimeguen*, in which his Highness was chiefly concerned. Upon which he replied coldly, he had heard enough of the same kind another way, which Monsieur *D'Estrades* had found out to Pensioner *Fagel*; but that they knew him little that made him such overtures; and, for his own interests or advantages, let them find a way of saving his honour, by satisfying *Spain*, and nothing of his concerns should retard the peace an hour.

After my return to *Nimeguen*, I found the *French* making all the advances they could towards the progress of the treaty; and they were (no doubt) in earnest; for being in a posture to insist upon their present possessions, and having made a great hand of this last campaign, they were willing, like gamesters that have won much, to give over, unless obliged to play on by those that had lost. The *Swedes* were more in haste and in earnest for the peace than any, hoping no resource for their losses in *Germany* by the war. The *Dutch* were grown impatient for the peace, finding *France* would make no difficulty of any thing between them, offering privately by their emissaries, especially at *Amsterdam*, such a reglement of commerce as they could desire, the restitution of *Maestricht*, and of all satisfaction the Prince of *Orange* could pretend upon his losses, or their seizures in the war. But *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* were as violent against the peace, having swallowed up in their hopes all that *Sweden* had possessed

possessed in *Germany*: and though the Emperor seemed to pretend little after the taking of *Philipsburg*, besides the restitution of *Lorraine*, and the towns of *Alsace*, to the posture they were left in by the *Munster* treaty; yet they were so fast linked, both with their *German* allies and with *Spain*, that they resolved to make no paces in the treaty but by common concert: and *Spain*, though sensible of the condition their affairs in *Flanders* were in, as well as in *Sicily*, yet upon a design then hatching at *Madrid*, for removal of the Queen regent and her ministry, to introduce *Don John* to head the affairs of their government, had conceived great hopes to recover those desperate infirmities that their inveterate disorders both in counsels and conduct, especially in their finances, had for so long time occasioned. Besides, they had confidences still given them from their Ministers in *England*, that his Majesty would not, after all, be contented to see *Flanders* lost, or would be forced into the war by the humour of his Parliament. For these reasons the allies seemed to make no haste at all to the congress, and some of them hardly to look that way; and none of the parties were yet arrived, besides the *French*, the *Swedes*, and the *Dutch*: But, about the end of *September*, the *French* Ambassadors gave us notice, that their master, having made so many advances towards peace, and being so ill seconded by the proceedings of the confederates, and their slowness in coming to the treaty, was resolved to recall his Ambassadors, unless those of the chief confederates should repair to *Nimeguen* within the space of one month.

This we communicated to the *Dutch* Ambassadors, and they to the States; who, after some conferences with the Ministers of their allies, came to a resolution, that they would enter upon the treaty themselves, if the Ministers of their confederates should not repair to *Nimeguen* by the first of *November*; which was afterwards,

afterwards, upon some disputes, declared to be meant old style, being that of the place where the congress was held.

The noise of this resolution of the States was more, among their allies, than the danger; since there were ways enough to raise difficulties, and spin out time, after the Ambassadors should arrive, as well as before; but yet it had so much effect, that the several confederates did upon it begin to hasten away one or other of their intended Ambassadors towards *Nimeguen*, (as Count *Kinski* from *Vienna*, Don *Pedro Ronquillo* from *England*, where he then resided as Spanish Envoy;) but not the persons principally intrusted, or at the head of their embassies; nor with powers to proceed further than Preliminaries; and from *Denmark* Monsieur *Heug*, without any news of Count *Antoine's* preparation, who was appointed chief of that embassy; any more than of the Bishop of *Gurck*, or Marquis *De Balbaces*, the chiefeft of those designed from the Emperor and *Spain*.

In the mean time, the *Dutch* began to lay load upon their allies, for their backwardness, so declared, in making any paces towards the treaty; to cavil upon the obligations they were under of so many great subsidies to so many Princes their allies, for carrying on a war which the allies pursued for their own separate interests or ambition, though entered into perhaps at first for defence of *Holland*, with whose safety theirs were complicated. Hereupon their Ministers, both at the *Hague* and *Nimeguen*, took the liberty to say publicly, and upon several occasions, and in several companies, that their masters would pay no subsidies to their allies the next campaign, unless, in the mean time, they would, by their fair and sincere proceedings in the treaty, put the *French* in the wrong, as their expression was.

The *Swedes* had, as well as the *French*, offered to deliver us their powers; but this was deferred by the
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Dutch to the arrival of their allies, till after the first of *November* was elapsed. The *French* began to press them upon it, in consequence of the States resolution; and, after some little demurs, the *Dutch* Ambassadors agreed to deliver theirs. So by concert, not without difficulty, we agreed, that on the 21st of *November* the several powers should be brought to us the Mediators, by the several Ambassadors, at such hours as they should severally take from us; should be deposited in our hands; and that we should afterwards communicate the originals mutually to the several Ambassadors at their houses, and leave copies with them, attested by us the Mediators.

This was done accordingly; and, the morning after, the *Dutch* Ambassadors brought us an account of several exceptions they were forced to make against several expressions in the *French* and *Swedish* prefaces to their powers; which they said were fitter for *manifestoes* than for *powers of a treaty*, especially those of justifying the war and maintaining the treaty of *Westphalia*. But the greatest stress they laid was upon a clause in the *French* powers, mentioning the Pope's mediation; which they said their masters could never consent to now, no more than they had at *Munster*. To say truth, though the gaining of time for the allies coming might have some part in these exceptions of the *Dutch*, yet they were framed with great art; and shewed the great quickness and sharpness of Monsieur *Van Beverning's* apprehension, as well as his skill and experience in these kind of affairs; being, I think, without dispute, the most practised and the ablest Ambassador, of any I have ever met in the course of my employments.

The *Dutch* exceptions were returned, by others from the *French* and *Swedes*, against their powers; but with offer from both of entering into the treaty, while these matters should be adjusting. The *Dutch* accepted it, provided

provided the *French* would oblige themselves to procure new powers, free from the exceptions raised against them, as the *Dutch* offered to do. After much debate, they all agreed in desiring us the Mediators, to draw up a form of powers to be used by all the parties: we did it, and it was approved by them all; with some reserve only from the *French*, whether it would be fit to mention any mediation, since that of the Pope's was left out; and some little tentatives upon us, whether we would be content to leave out all mention of his Majesty's mediation, as well as that of the Pope's? This we excused ourselves from doing, the whole frame of the congress having proceeded from his Majesty's mediation, without any intervention of the Pope's; and the King's having been accepted by all the parties, which the Pope's had not been; but on the contrary, the very mention of it, in the powers, declared against by several of them. And, by orders we received from Court upon occasion of this dispute, we declared to all the parties, that though his Majesty pretended not to exclude any other mediation that the parties should think fit to use, yet he could not in any wise act jointly with that of the Pope; nor suffer his Ministers to enter into any commerce either of visits or conferences, with any of his that might be employed at *Nimeguen*.

In *November* arrived Monsieur *Heug*, one of the *Danish* Ambassadors; Monsieur *Somnitz* and *Blaspyl*, the two *Brandenburg* Ambassadors; Lord *Berkley* from *Paris*; and, soon after, *Don Pedro Ronquillo*, one of the *Spanish* Ambassadors; but the last continued *incognito* till the arrival of Count *Kinski*, who, whether he had taken the gout, or the gout had taken him, continued upon that pretence at *Cologne* till the new year was begun.

The *Spanish* Ambassador coming upon visits to my wife, and meeting me there, found that way of entering into the present business of the scene, as much

as if he had been declared upon it. He agreed with the *French* in this one point, of desiring either the Pope's mediation might be mentioned in their powers, or that his Majesty, in consideration of the peace, would suffer the mention of his to be left out: but the *Dane*, on the other side, agreed with the *Dutch*, in refusing to admit any power with mention of the Pope's mediation. There arose likewise another difficulty, from a seeming expedient proposed by the *Dutch*, of having from each party several powers granted for treating with the several parties they were in war with; which the *French* refused, or to grant other powers than for the *Dutch* and their allies: and in these disputes or difficulties the year 1676 ended.

I enter not at all into the detail, or so much as mention, of the many incidents that fell into the course of this treaty upon punctilio's of visits or ceremonials; because they seem to me but so many impertinencies that are grown this last age into the character of Ambassadors; having been raised and cultivated by men, who, wanting other talents to value themselves upon in those employments, endeavoured to do it by exactness or niceties in the forms; and besides, they have been taken notice of by discourses concerning this treaty, and at one time or other may be exactly known by the original papers of our embassy, which are in two or three several hands: whereas I intend chiefly to declare the course of this great affair, by the more material circumstances, and from the true springs of those events that succeeded, rather than trouble myself with the forms that served to amuse so long this assembly at *Nimeguen*.

I shall only make two observations upon the ceremonial; the first is upon the Emperor's conduct towards the *Brandenburg* Ambassadors; allowing his Ministers to treat them both like Ambassadors of crowned heads, though we gave it only to the first of the embassy upon

on the precedent of the *Munster* treaty, and were followed in it by the *French* and *Swedes* in the whole course of this treaty at *Nimeguen*. This pace of the Emperor seemed not so much grounded, as some thought, upon his compliance with so considerable an ally, as upon a design to assist another pretension of his own, which is, not only a difference of place, but also of rank from all other crowned heads of *Chrifendom*: whereas the other Kings, though they yield him the place, yet they do not allow him a difference of rank. But if the Emperor could by his example prevail with other Kings to treat the Electors like crowned heads, it would fortify the pretensions of the Emperor to a difference of rank; since there is a great one, and out of all contest, between him and the Electors,

My second remark is, that, among all the punctilio's between the Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, none seemed to me to carry them to such heights as the *Swedes* and the *Danes*. The first standing as stiff upon all points of not seeming to yield in the least to the *French* Ambassadors, though their allies, and from a Crown not only of so mighty power, but from whom alone they expected the restoring of their broken state in *Germany*: and the *Danish* Ambassador, upon the *French* powers being exhibited in *French*, said he would give his in *Danish*, unless they would do it in *Latin*, as a common language; alledging he knew no difference between crowned heads; that the *Danish* Kings had been as great as the *French* are now, and in their present dominions are as absolute. Upon all which Monsieur *Van Beverning* could not forbear to reflect, and say to us, that in his remembrance there was no sort of competition made by those two Northern Kings with the other three great Kings of *Chrifendom*: that the treatment of the States to them was very different, and their Ministers made no difficulty of signing any instruments after the Ministers of the three great Crowns.

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'Tis, I think, out of question that the pretension of parity among the crowned heads was first made in the north by *Gustavus*, when he told Monsieur *Grammont* the *French* Ambassador in *Sweden* upon this occasion, that for his part he knew no distinction among crowned heads, but what was made by their virtue; and this pretence was not much disputed with him, in respect to the greatness of his qualities, as well as of his attempts and successes; and his example was followed by the Kings of *Denmark*, and has since left place a thing contested among them all. 'Tis true, the *French* have claimed the precedence next to the Emperor, with more noise and haughtiness than the rest, but have been yielded to by none except the *Spaniards*, upon the fear of a war they were not able to deal with; nor have they since been willing to own the weakness of that concession, but have chosen to fall into what measures they could of encouraging and establishing the pretence of parity among crowned heads. The most remarkable instance of this happened at *Nimeguen*; where, upon a public meeting of the allies, the dispute arising between *Spain* and *Denmark* for the place at table, *Don Pedro* consented to have it taken by turns, and the first to be divided by lot. The *French* Ambassadors made their pretence of preference next the Mediators at *Nimeguen*, in the first return of their visits from Ambassadors arriving; but it was neither yielded to by *Swede* or *Dane*, nor practised by the Emperor's Ambassadors, who made their first visit to the Mediators, and the next without distinction to the first that had visited them. The Emperor took advantage of the *French*, as well as the rest, having yielded to the Mediators; and during this treaty made a scruple, though not a refusal, of doing it; by which he distinguished himself from the other crowned heads. We were content to keep it, as much as we could, from decision with them; but it once happened, that, upon

on a meeting with the allies at the *Dane's* house, Count *Kinski* was there before I and Sir *Lionel* came into the room, where chairs were set for all the Ambassadors. After the common salutations, I went straight up to the chair that was first in rank, and stood before it, to sit down when the rest were ready; but my colleague, either losing his time by being engaged in longer civilities, or by a desire not to be engaged in contests, gave room to Count *Kinski*, (a very brisk man) to come and stand before the chair that was next me, and consequently between me and my colleague: when I saw this, and considered, that, though the place was given me by the Imperialists, yet it was not given to the Kings embassy; I chose not to sit down; but, falling into the conference that was intended, I stood all the while as if I did it carelessly, and so left the matter undecided.

The Prince of *Orange*, about the latter end of *December*, writ very earnestly to me, to make a step, for some few days, to the *Hague*, knowing I had leave from his Majesty to do it when I thought fit. And, finding all things without present motion at *Nimeguen*, I went thither, and arrived the last day of the year. The first of the next, being 1677, I attended his Highness: we fell into large discourses of the progress of the treaty, the coldness of the parties, the affected delays of the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*, the declared aversion of the *Danes* and *Brandenburg*; and concluded how little was to be expected from the formal paces of this congress. Upon all which the Prince asked, if I had heard any more of his Majesty's mind upon the peace, since I had been last with him? I told him what I remembered of his last letter to me upon that subject; which was, that he concluded from the Prince's discourses to me, that he had then no mind to peace; that he was sorry for it, because he thought it was his interest to have it: that he had tried to know the mind

mind of *France* upon it; but if they would not open themselves farther on one side, nor his Highness on the other, than they had yet done, he would content himself with performing only his part of Mediator, and in the common forms. The Prince said, this looked very cold, since his Majesty was alone able to make the peace, and knew well enough what it would come to by the forms of the congress: that, for his own part, he desired it, and had a great deal of reason; both because his Majesty seemed to do so, and to think it his own interest as well as the Prince's; and because the States not only thought it their interest, but absolutely necessary for them: that he would not say this to any but to the King by me; because, if *France* should know it, they would, he doubted, be harder upon the terms: that both *Spain* and the Emperor had less mind to it now, than they had at the end of the last campaign; the new Ministers being less inclined to it than the old had been; so that there was not one of the allies that had any mind to it, besides the States: that, for his own part, he should be always in the same mind with them, and therefore very much desired it; but did not know which way to go about it, at least so as to compass it before the next campaign. And, if that once began, they should be all at sea again, and should be forced to go just as the wind should drive them: that, if his Majesty had a mind to make it, and would let him know freely the conditions upon which either he desired or believed it might be made, he would endeavour to concert it the best he could with his Majesty, and that with all the freedom and sincerity in the world; so it might be done with any safety to his own honour, and the interests of his country.

All this he desired me to write directly to his Majesty from him, as he knew I had not only leave, but command

command to do, upon any occasion that I thought deserved it.

Two days after, I saw the Pensioner *Fagel* upon some common affairs incident to my embassy at the *Hague*, which had been left in the hands of the Secretary of that embassy. When these discourses were past, he asked me if I had brought them peace from *Nimeguen*? I replied, that since he was so ignorant of what had passed there, I would tell him, That they had carried their matters there *En babiles gens* [Like able men]: that, to bring their allies to the congress, they had pretended to treat by the first of *November*, whether they came or not: that, after that day passed, they had found fault with the powers exhibited, had offered at new, made the Mediators course from one to the other, spun out two months time in these paces, and thereby were gotten in sight both of *Spanish* and *Imperial* ministers, which I supposed was the point they always intended, and afterwards to keep pace with them. The Pensioner answered me, with something in his face both serious and sad, that either I did not know them, and the course of their affairs since I left the *Hague*, or else I would not seem to know them: that they not only desired the peace from their hearts, but thought it absolutely necessary for them: that they would certainly have entered into the treaty at the time, if the *French* had either exhibited powers in a form to be at all admitted, or would have obliged themselves to procure new ones; nay, that they would not insist upon a peace according to their allies pretensions, nor could he answer that they would not make a separate one. I said, that was a matter of such moment, as I was sure they would think of it another year before they did it. With this he drew up his chair closer to me, and began a discourse with more heat and earnestness than agreed well with the posture of health he was in, saying, first, that they had thought enough of

of it already; and, with thinking much, had begun to find it was without remedy: that they had great obligations to *Spain*, for entering into the war to save their country, and thereby to save *Flanders* too; but they had made them no ill return, by continuing it now three years only for the interests of *Spain*, since there remained nothing of consequence between *France* and them: that they had further engaged themselves to carry it on this following year, and so would have done with the forces they did the last, if their allies had performed the parts they had likewise engaged; but, for *Spain*, they took no care, but to let them see they were resolved to perish: that they had sent their fleet home from *Sicily*, without the payments agreed on; and left them to be paid by the States at their return: that not a penny could be got of a great sum they owed them for carriages and provisions the last summer, and which was designed for magazines against next year in *Flanders*, without which their armies could not march in that country, where they were sure to find none of the *Spaniards* providing; that they had represented to *Spain* the necessity but of keeping so many forces well regulated and paid, as might defend their towns while the Prince should take the field with the army of the State, and hinder or divert any great sieges there; but not a word of answer: that they had then desired them to receive so many of the troops of the *German* Princes, their allies, as might defend their most important places; but, instead of this, they drove them out of their country: that, for the Emperor, they had always told him, that unless his army would march into *France*, or at least force them to a battle by such forces as might draw great detachments of the *French* out of *Flanders*, that country would not be saved the last summer, or at least not the next, unless his army took up their quarters this winter in *Alsace*, or on that side of the *Rhine*: but at *Vienna* they considered *Flanders* as much

much as the *Dutch* do *Hungary*; and because the imperial officers could better find their private account by winter quarters in *Germany*, than in a country harassed like *Alsace*, their armies must repass the *Rhine* this winter, and thereby lose all the advantages of the last campaign, and hopes of the next: that, for want of magazines in *Flanders*, two or three strong frontiers would be lost there next spring, before the *Imperialists* could take the field; and if *Cambray*, *Valenciennes* and *Mons* were taken, all the rest would revolt, considering the miseries they had already suffered, and must by a longer war: that the Prince would not be able to prevent it, or be soon enough in the field to march, for want of provisions in *Flanders*, the country growing desolate by the unsettled contributions; or at least, not with such an army as to venture a battle, or raise a siege, while the *Spanish* troops were so weak, and the *French* would be so strong, at a time when they had no enemy to divert them upon the *Rhine*: that the Prince's friends could not suffer him to go into the field, only to see towns lost under his nose, and perhaps all *Flanders*, while he was expected to defend it; and at the same time was rendered incapable of doing it by the faults of the *Spaniards*, who yet would not fail to reproach him, as well as his enemies abroad, and ill-willers at home, that would be glad of the occasion. In the mean time, from *France* they could have whatever conditions they pretended, either by restoring *Maestricht*, a reglement of commerce, or any advantages to the house of *Orange*; and, as to this last, whatever the Prince himself would demand: that to this purpose they had every week pressing letters from Monsieur *D'Esstrades* to make the separate peace; and though he should fall into it with the greatest regret that could be, yet he did not see what else was to be done, and did not know one man in *Holland* that was not of the same mind; that he did not talk with
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me as an Ambassador, but a friend, whose opinion he esteemed and desired: that he told me freely, *Leur fort et leur foible* [*Their strength and their weakness*]; and would be glad to know what else I thought they could do upon all these circumstances, *Et dans l'accablement de leur estat par une si longue guerre* [*And in the distress of their State by so long a war*]. I returned his compliment, but excused myself from giving my opinion to a person so well able to take measures that were the fittest for the States conduct or his own; but desired to know what he reckoned would become of *Flanders* after the *Dutch* had made their separate peace, because the fate of that country was that wherein the rest of their neighbours were concerned as well as they. He answered, it would be lost in one summer, or in two, but more probably in one: that he believed *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, *Namür*, and *Mons* might be lost in one summer: that, after their loss, the great towns within would not offer at defending themselves, excepting *Antwerp* and *Ostend*, for which they might perhaps take some measures with *France*, as I knew the *French* had offered Monsieur *De Wit* upon their first invasion in 1667. I asked him how he reckoned this State was to live with *France* after the loss of *Flanders*? and if he thought it could be otherways than at discretion? he desired me to believe, that, if they could hope to save *Flanders* by the war, they would not think of a separate peace; but, if it must be lost, they had rather it should be by the last, which would less exhaust their country and dishonour the Prince: that, after *Flanders* was lost, they must live so with *France*, as would make them find it their interest rather to preserve their State than to destroy it: that it was not to be chosen, but to be swallowed like a desperate remedy: that he had hoped for some resource from better conduct in the *Spanish* affairs; or that some great impression of the *German* armies, upon that side of

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France, might have brought the peace to some reasonable terms: that, for his own part, he had ever believed that *England* itself would cry halt, at one step or other that *France* was making; and that, if we would be content to see half *Flanders* lost, yet we would not all; nor *Sicily* neither, for the interest of our trade in the *Mediterranean*: that the King had the peace in his hands for these two years past; might have made it when he pleased, and upon such conditions as he should think fit, of justice and safety to the rest of his neighbours as well as himself: that all men knew, *France* was not in a condition to refuse whatever terms his Majesty resolved on, or to venture a war with *England* in conjunction with the rest of the allies: that the least shew of it, if at all credited in *France*, was enough to make the peace: that they had long represented all this in *England* by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, and offered his Majesty to be the arbiter of it, and to fall into the terms he should prescribe; but not a word in answer, and all received with such a coldness as never was, though other people thought we had reason to be a little more concerned: that this put him more upon thinking a separate peace necessary than all the rest: that he confessed, *cuncta prius tentanda*, [all means were first to be tried], till he found at last it was *immedicabile vulnus* [an incurable wound]: that, for their living with *France* after *Flanders* was lost, he knew well enough what I meant by asking; but, after that, the aims of *France* would be more upon *Italy* or *Germany*, or perhaps upon us, than them; that it could not be the interest of *France* to destroy or conquer this state, but to preserve it in a dependence upon that crown: that they could make better use of the *Dutch* fleets, than of a few poor fisher towns, that they should be reduced to if any violation were made, either upon their liberties or religions: that the King of *France* had seen their country, and knew it, and understood

derstood it so, and said, upon all occasions, that he had rather have them for his friends than his subjects; but if, after all, I concluded their state must fall in four and twenty hours, yet it were better for them to defer it to the last hour, and that it should happen at night rather than at noon.

This was discoursed with such vehemence and warmth, that he was not able to go on; and having said, it was not a matter to be resolved between us two, I left him, after wishing him health enough to go through the thoughts and businesses of so great a conjuncture.

Next morning I went to the Prince, and, after some common talk, told him what had passed in my visit to the Pensioner, and asked his Highness, if he had seen him since, or knew any thing of it? He said no; and so I told him the detail of it: and, upon conclusion, that he said he saw nothing else to be done but to make a separate peace; and, that he knew not a man in *Holland* who was not of his mind. The Prince interrupted me, saying, yes, I am sure I know one, and that is myself, and I will hinder it as long as I can; but, if any thing should happen to me, I know it would be done in two days time. I asked him, whether he was of the Pensioner's mind, as to what he thought likely to happen the next campaign? He said, the appearances were ill; but campaigns did not always end as they began: that accidents might happen which no man could foresee; and that, if they came to one fair battle, none could answer for the event: that the King might make the peace, if he pleased, before it began; but, if we were so indifferent as to let this season pass, for his part, he must go on, and take his fortune: that he had seen that morning a poor old man, tugging alone in a little boat with his oars, against the eddy of a sluice upon a canal; that, when with the last endeavours he was

just got up to the place intended; the force of the eddy carried him quite back again; but he turned his boat as soon as he could, and fell to his oars again; and thus three or four times while the Prince saw him; and concluded, this old man's business and his were too like one another, and that he ought, however, to do just as the old man did, without knowing what would succeed, any more than what did in the poor man's case.

All that passed upon these discourses, I represented very particularly to the court, the first part immediately to the King, the rest to the Secretaries of State; and added my own opinion, that, if his Majesty continued to interpose no further than by the bare and common offices of this mediation, in the place and forms of a treaty, and the *Austrians* held off from the progress of it, as well as the northern allies, and as they had all hitherto done, it would certainly follow, that the *French* and *Dutch* would fall into private negotiations; and, by what I could observe on both sides, were like to adjust them in a very little time, and leave them ready to clap up a peace in two days, when the *Dutch* should grow more impatient of the slowness or unsincereness of their allies proceedings in the general treaty, or whenever the violent humour of the people should force the Prince to fall into the same opinion with the States upon this matter. This I esteemed myself obliged to say, that his Majesty might want no lights that were necessary upon so nice, and yet so dangerous a conjuncture. I had his Majesty's answer in a long letter, of his own hand, complaining much of the confederate ministers in *England* caballing with parliament-men, and raising all men's spirits as high against the peace as they could; and that they had done it to such a degree, as made it very difficult for him to make any steps with *France* towards a general peace, unless the *Dutch* Ambassa-

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dor would first put in a memorial, pressing his Majesty from the States to do it; and declaring, that without it they saw *Flanders* would be lost.

From Secretary *Williamson* I had no other answer material upon all the Pensioner's discourses, nor my own opinion upon the present conjuncture, but that his Majesty, and the Lords of the foreign committee, wondered I should think the *French* were so ready for a separate peace, if the *Dutch* should fall into those thoughts; and that they did not remember they had ever received any thing from either me or my colleague at *Nimeguen* that looked that way. Upon which I told him the frequent conversations I had had with Monsieur *Colbert*, upon that subject, and the several letters the Pensioner had shewn from the Marshal *D'Esstrades*, or his instrument, at *Maeſtricht*. But to all this I received no answer; nor so much as reflexion; tho' I thought this part was my duty, as Ambassador at the *Hague*, whether it were so as Mediator at *Nimeguen* or not.

The Prince and Pensioner were both willing the King should be complied with, in the government of Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* paces and language at *London*; but pressed me to write once more, to know his Majesty's opinion upon the terms of a peace, or else he said it would be too late, while the season advanced towards the campaign. Upon which I desired him to consider there might be three weeks difference between his first telling his own thoughts to his Majesty, and receiving his Majesty's opinion upon them; or sending first to know his Majesty's, then returning his own, and afterwards expecting the King's again, in case they differed: besides, I believed his Majesty would take it kinder, and as a piece of more confidence, if his Highness made no difficulty of explaining himself first. The Prince paus'd a while, and then said, to shew the confidence he desired to live in with his

his Majesty, he would make no further difficulty of it, though he might have many reasons to do it: that, if the King had a mind, to make a sudden peace, he thought he must do it upon the foot of *Aix la Chapelle*; which he would have the more ground for, because it was a peace he both made and warranted: that, for exchanges, he thought there should be no other proposed upon it, but only of *Aeth* and *Charle-roy* for *Aire* and *St. Omer*; which two last he thought imported a great deal more to *France*, than the others, unless they would declare that they intended to end this war with the prospect of beginning another, by which they might get the rest of *Flanders*: that this was all needed pass between *France* and *Spain*; and for the Emperor and this State, that the first, having taken *Philipsburgh* from the *French*, should raze it; and the *French* having taken *Maestricht* from the *Dutch*, should raze it too; and so this whole war should pass *comme un tourbillon qui avoit cessé, apres avoir menacé beaucoup, & fait fort peu de Remuemens au monde.* [As a storm that has ceased, after it had threatened much, and made but little alterations in the World.]

I was surprized to hear a proposition so on the sudden, so short and so decisive, and that seemed so easy towards a short close, if his Majesty should fall into it; and I esteemed it a strain in the Prince of the most consummate knowledge in the whole present scheme of affairs, and most decisive judgment upon them that he could have given, after the longest deliberation and maturest advice. I observed however to his Highness upon it, that he had not explained what was to become of *Lorraine* and *Burgundy*; and next, whether he believed it at all likely, that *France*, after such acquisitions made in this war, and so many more expected, should come to such restitutions of what they possessed, without any equivalent. The Prince replied,

plied, both were explained by the terms he proposed of *Aix la Chapelle*: that, for *Lorrain*, *France* never pretended to keep it, but from the last Duke only, that *Burgundy* could not be parted with by *Spain*, without the *French* restoring so many towns for it in *Flanders* as would raise endless debates, draw the business into lengths, and so leave it to the decision of another campaign. For the second, he said, he had reason to doubt it, and did not believe it would be done but by his Majesty's vigorous interposition, but by that he was sure it would be easily effected; but, if his Majesty would not endeavour it, the war must go on, and God Almighty must decide it: that all the allies would be glad of it, and believed that, upon *Don John's* coming to the head of the *Spanish* affairs, there would be a new world there: that however one town well defended; or one battle well fought, might change the scene: that for himself, he would confess, the King could never do so kind a part, as to bring him with some honour out of this war, and upon some moderate terms; but if he was content that *France* should make them insupportable, they would venture all, rather than receive them; and, for *Holland's* making it a separate peace, let the Pensioner, or any others, tell what they would, they should never do it while he was alive, and was able to hinder it. And he would say one thing more to me, that he believed he was able to hinder it: that, if he died, he knew it would be done next day; but, when that should happen, this matter must be some other's care, and perhaps we in *England* were the most concerned to look after it.

I promised to represent all he had said directly to his Majesty, and so I did immediately; and the Prince went next day to *Dieron*, within six leagues of *Nimègue*, where I promised to come to him as soon as I should be possessed of his Majesty's answer. And I
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am the more particular in all these discourses with the Prince and the Pensioner upon this great conjuncture, because they do not only discover the true springs from which the peace was afterwards derived, but represent most of the interests of *Chriftendom*, as they were observed by the two persons that, next to Monsieur *De Wit*, understood them the best of any I have ever met with in the course of my negotiations.

After the Prince was gone, I had one conference more with the Pensioner, who told me he was still of opinion it must come to a separate peace: that he had told the Emperor's Ministers the same thing; and, that if they did not, at *Vienna*, fall into the measures proposed and insisted on by the States, before the middle of *February* next, they should be forced to make it: that if *Don Emanuel De Lyra* had not now assured them of the remises being actually come from *Spain*, for payment of the last year's charge of the fleets, both in the *Mediterranean* and *Baltick*, according to agreement, the peace could not have been kept off this winter itself. I told him the Prince was of another mind, and had said to me a separate peace should never be made while he lived, and was able to hinder it; and that he believed he should have it in his power. The Pensioner replied, he should come to it with as much regret as the Prince himself; but, that his Highness himself might be forced to it by the ill conduct of his allies, the ill successes of the next campaign, and the mutinies of the people, to which they were already but too much disposed at *Amsterdam* by the delays of the treaty at *Nimeguen*: that the late revolution in *Spain*, against the Queen regent and her ministry, had shewed enough what might be brought about by a violent and general humour of the people; and the Prince knew the country too well to go too far against it: that it was in his Majesty's hands to make a general peace, if he pleased, before the campaign began; and per-

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haps it was in the conduct of *Spain* and the Emperor to engage *Holland* in one campaign more, by the measures they had proposed: if both these failed, a separate peace must be made.

While I staid at the *Hague*, which was about a month, my colleagues at *Nimeguen* had, it seems, found out a negotiation grown between the *French* Ambassadors and Monsieur *Van Beverning*, separate from the Ministers of his allies, and without any communication of the Mediators, which they suspected would end in a separate peace. Of this they thought fit to give part to the Court, and of their suspicions upon it; as they had done in my absence; and received an immediate order upon it, that, in case they found a separate peace concluding, or concluded between *France* and *Holland* at *Nimeguen*, they should protest publicly against it in his Majesty's name. This my colleague Sir *Lionel Jenkins* writ to me at the *Hague* about the 10th of *January*, and was in great pain upon it. He apprehended the thing, but expected not to know it till it was done, and then doubted any good consequences from our protestation. He desired I would both send him my thoughts upon it, and the same to the Court as soon as I could.

I did so, both to my Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary *Coventry*; and told them very freely, that I could not understand the reason or the drift of such an order as my colleagues had received to make such a protestation: that if a separate peace between *France* and *Holland* were thought as dangerous in the Court, as I knew it was in the country, the King might endeavour to prevent it; and had it still in his power, as he had had a great while: but, if it were once concluded, I did not see any other effect of our protestation, unless it were to irritate both the parties, and bind them the faster, by our being angry at their conjunction. Nor did I know what ground could be given for such a protestation; for

for though the parties had accepted his Majesty's mediation of a general peace, yet none of them had obliged themselves to his Majesty not to treat a separate one, or without his offices of mediation ; and, if they had, I did not see why the same interests, that could make them break through so many obligations to their allies, should not make them as bold with a Mediator : that, as to prevent the thing may be a very wise and necessary counsel, so his Majesty's resolution in it ought to be signified as early as can be, where it is likely to be of moment to that end, which was to *France* : but if the thing should be first done, as I could not tell how well to ground our offence, so I could as little how to seek our revenge ; and it would be to stay till we were struck, and then trust to crying out : that, to the best of my sense, it were better to anger any one of the parties before a separate peace, than both of them after ; and if we must strain any points of courtesy with them, to do it rather by making a fair and general peace, than by complaining or protesting against a separate one.

I thought, I confess, that upon this representation from my colleagues, without any knowledge of mine, or suspicion that the matter was working up at *Nimeguen* when I left it, and yet agreeing so much with what I had foreseen and represented from the *Hague*, and meeting such a resentment at our Court as appeared by the order transmitted to my colleagues upon it ; there was little question but his Majesty would declare himself upon the terms of a general peace to both parties, which I knew very well would be refused by neither, if he were positive in it, and supported, as he would certainly have been, by the Prince : but our counsels at Court were so in balance, between the desires of living at least fair with *France*, and the fears of too much displeasing the Parliaments upon their frequent sessions that our paces upon this whole affair looked

looked all like cross purposes, which no man at home or abroad could well understand, and were often mistaken by both parties engaged in the war, as well as by both parties in the house of Commons, till the thing was wrested out of our hands.

About the twenty-fifth of *January* 1677, I received his Majesty's answer to my last dispatches by the Prince's directions, and carried them immediately away to *Dieren*, which was little out of my way to *Nimeguen*, and there communicated them to the Prince. They consisted of two parts; the first, an offer of his Majesty's entering into the strongest defensive alliance with the States, thereby to secure them from all apprehensions from *France*, after the peace should be made. The second, was his Majesty's remarks, rather than conclusion or judgement, upon the terms proposed by the Prince for a peace: that he believed it might be compassed with *France*, upon the exchange of *Cambray*, *Aire*, and *St. Omer*, for *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenarde*, *Conde*, and *Bouchain*: that this scheme was what his Majesty thought possible to be obtained of *France*, though not what was to be wished.

I observed the Prince's countenance to change when I named *Cambray* and the rest of the towns; yet he heard me through, and the many nice reasons of Sir *J—W—* upon the matter; as of a double frontier this would give to *Flanders*, the safety whereof was the thing both his Majesty and the States were most concerned in; and many other ways of cutting the feather. After which the Prince said, he believed dinner was ready, and we would talk of it after we had dined, and so went out; but, as he was near the door, he turned to me, and said, though he should talk more of it after dinner, yet he would tell me now, and in few words, that he must rather die than make such a peace.

After dinner, we went again into his chamber, where he began with telling me I had spoiled his dinner: that

he had not expected such a return of the confidence he had begun towards his Majesty. He observed the offer of alliance came to me in a letter of his Majesty's own hand; but that about the terms of a peace, from the Secretary only: that it was in a style as if he thought him a child, or to be fed with whipped cream: that, since all this had been before the foreign committee, he knew very well it had been with the *French* Ambassador too, and that the terms were his, and a great deal worse than they could have directly from *France*. He cast them up distinctly, and what in plain language they amounted to: that *Spain* must part with all *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Aire*, and *St. Omer*, which were of the value of two other provinces in the consequences of any war between *France* and *Spain*; and all for the five towns mentioned: that in short all must be ventured, since he was in, and found no other way out. I told the Prince that I hoped he would send his Majesty his own thoughts upon it; but that he would think a little more before he did it. He said, he would write to the King that night, but would not enter into the detail of the business, which was not worth the pains, but would leave it to me. He desired me further to let his Majesty know, that he had been very plain in what he had told me of his own thoughts upon this whole matter, and had gone as low as he could with any regard to the safety of his country, and his allies, or his honour: that he doubted whether *Spain* would ever have consented to those very terms; but for these he knew they could not, though they were sure to lose all *Flanders* by the war: and, for himself, he could never propose it to them; but, if *Flanders* were left in that posture, it could never be defended upon another invasion, neither by *Holland*, nor by *England* itself; and he was so far of the *Spaniards* mind, that, if *Flanders* must be lost, it had better be so by a war than by a peace: that, whenever that was, *Hol-*

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land must fall into an absolute dependence upon *France*; so that what his Majesty offered, of an alliance with them, would be to no purpose; for they would not be made the stage of a war after the loss of *Flanders*, and wherein they were sure no alliance of his Majesty, nor forces neither, could defend them. He concluded, that if his Majesty would help him out of this war with any honour and safety, either upon kindness to him, or consideration of what concernment his own crowns were like to have in the issue of this affair, he would acknowledge and endeavour to deserve it as long as he lived; if not, the war must go on, be the event what it would; and, for his own part, he would rather charge a thousand men with a hundred, nay, though he were sure to die in the charge, than enter into any concert of a peace upon these conditions.

I gave his Majesty an account of all that passed in this interview, and returned to my post at *Nimeguen*.

The allies had taken great umbrage at my journey to the *Hague*, as designed for negotiating some separate peace between *France* and *Holland*; but the Prince and Pensioner seemed careless to satisfy them, and made that use only of it to let them know that no such thing was yet intended, but that *Holland* would be forced to it at last, if the Emperor and *Spain* fell not into those measures that they had proposed to them, both at *Vienna* and *Madrid*, for the vigorous prosecution of the next campaign. Which had some effect at *Vienna*, but little in *Spain* or *Flanders*, as was felt in the beginning of the spring.

At my return to *Nimeguen*, I found that in my absence Count *Kinski* was arrived, who was a person of great parts, of a sharp and quick apprehension, but exact and scrupulous in his conduct, rigid in his opinions, never before versed in these sort of employments, and thereby very punctilious: this had engaged him in difficulties upon the ceremony of visits, both with
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my colleagues and the *French*, upon his first arrival; which lasted with these till the end of the congress, so as to hinder all visits between them: but I had the good fortune to retrieve all ill correspondence that had happened between the Mediators and him. I found likewise, that a secret intelligence was grown between the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, which was managed by Monsieur *Olivetrans*, the second *Swedish* Ambassador, and wholly apart from my colleagues, whose intervention had been only used when the matter was first agreed between those parties; that Monsieur *Van Beverning* drove on very violently towards a peace, and with little regard of his allies; and said he had order from the States, *De pousser l'affaire tant qu'il lui seroit possible*, [*To push the business on as vigorously as possible*.] that those Ambassadors had come to a sort of agreement about the form and number of powers, which was, that the Mediators should be desired to draw up a form of preamble, which should be common to all the parties, and contain nothing more, but that such and such Princes, out of a sincere desire of peace, had sent such and such persons to *Nimeguen*, which had been chose for the place of treaty, by the intercession of the King of *Great-Britain*: that the Mediators should likewise draw up an obligatory act, to be signed by the several Ambassadors, and put into their hands on the same day, for the procuring new powers within sixty days after the date: that the titles in the new powers should be inserted, *bona fide*, according to the usual style of the chancellery of each court; and that an act of salvo should be signed by the several Ambassadors, for no consequence to be drawn hereafter, for the use or omission of any titles in these powers.

I found likewise, that these points had been agreed among all the allies, by the formal intervention of my colleagues, after they had first been concerted between the *French* and *Dutch*: that these Ambassadors had entered

tered into a course of mutual visits; owning publicly, that they did it as necessary to facilitate the progress of the treaty: and that the *Dutch* began to talk of finishing an eventual treaty (as they called it) for themselves as soon as the acts about powers were wholly dispatched, which should not take place till the general peace was concluded; but after which they, the *Dutch*, intended to employ their officers between their allies and the *French*.

I found likewise, that Mr. *Hide* had increased the number of the mediators in my absence, who, having been sent into *Poland* the summer past, to christen that King's child, and to condole with the Emperor upon the late Empress's death, had performed the first compliment from his Majesty; but, upon his coming from thence to *Vienna*, found the Emperor married, and so passed on privately home, and arrived at *Nimeguen*, soon after I left it upon my journey to the *Hague*; where he came to me, after having staid a fortnight at *Nimeguen*. He told me at the *Hague*, that, upon his return by *Rotterdam*, he had there met letters from Court with a commission to stop for some short time at *Nimeguen*, and take the character of one of the Ambassadors Mediators there, by which he might be enabled at his return to give his Majesty an account of the state and progress of affairs there. He said, this commission was intended to find him at *Nimeguen*, upon the stop he made there; but having not arrived till he had left that place, he was in doubt whether he should make any use of it or not, and desired my advice, whether to return to *Nimeguen*, or to go forward for *England*. I easily perceived what this dispatch was intended for, to introduce him into those kinds of characters and employments; and so advised him to go back to *Nimeguen*, which he did, and made a part of the embassy during a short stay there, but excused himself from entering into the management of any conferences

conferences or dispatches; so that by his modesty, and my Lord *Berkley's* great age and infirmities, the fatigue of that employment lay still upon me and Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, who writ alternately the dispatches from the embassy to Court, and the others to other Princes and ministers by concert, all the while I was upon the place.

I found likewise, at my return to *Nimeguen*, some few difficulties yet remaining, which obstructed the dispatch intended about the powers: for though the *French* had consented to furnish new powers, and several for the Emperor, *Spain*, *Denmark*, and *Holland*; yet they refused a distinct one for *Brandenburg*, which these Ministers insisted on; and the *Dutch* were in such obligations to that Prince, that they were forced to do so too, though unwillingly, as doubting the success with *France*, and foreseeing the consequence of the same pretence to be raised upon it by other Princes of *Germany*, not only Electors, but the houses of *Lunenburg* and *Neuberg*, who yielded to the Electors in no point, but that one of precedence. But the *Dutch*, to distinguish that of *Brandenburg*, alledged to us, that he was principal in the war of *Sweden*, and so could not be included as an ally only, either by the Emperor, or by the States.

The *Danish* Ambassador stood positively upon the common use of the *Latin* tongue between *France* and them in their powers, or else to give his in *Danish*, if they gave theirs in *French*. These said, that it was a novelty and an impertinence; and that, if in all the intercourse that had ever been between those two crowns, the language had not been *French* on their side, and *Latin* on the *Danes*, even in any one instrument, they were content they should give their powers not only in *Danish*, but in *Hebrew* if they pleased. The *Dane* said, he could not give account of all precedents: that, if ill ones had been hitherto used, it

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was time to establish new ones that were good : that his master had more right to do it than any former King, being now successive in that crown, which was before elective ; and, being more absolute in his dominions than any other King of *Christendom* ; for there was now nothing in *Denmark*, but *la volonté du Roy*, [*the will of the King* ;] upon all which he said his orders were positive, and he could not proceed without the style he pretended.

These two points chiefly had obstructed the final agreement about the powers for near a month ; after which we prevailed with the *French* to yield to new powers for *Brandenburg*, upon assurance from the *Dutch* Ambassadors that they expected no such pretension for any other of their *German* allies ; but that, if any should be raised and refused by *France*, yet that should not hinder or delay the *Dutch* from proceeding in the treaty. The *Dane's* pretence about the languages, being neither countenanced nor approved by any of his allies, was at last yielded by him ; which had been better never started, as having lost him ground in that which was intended by it, which was to establish the principle of a parity among crowned heads.

There was an accident happened likewise in my absence, which had raised great heats among the parties.

Upon Count *Kinski's* arrival, the allies began their meetings at his house ; by which they hoped to govern the general resolutions, and keep the alliance from breaking into any separate pieces. The *Dutch* Ambassadors, who pretended to influence the peace more than any of their allies, stomached the Count's design and carriage at these conferences, where they said he pretended to be sole dictator ; and they were unwilling to enter into plain contradictions, or the same heats at his own house ; upon which they went to the *Stadt-house*, and chose there a room for their conferences among all the allies, which, upon the first practice,

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gave great offence to the *French* Ambassadors. They said it was a breach upon the neutrality of the place, established by the assembly's being there; and that the *Dutch* had now arrogated to themselves the disposal of the town house, without common agreement. The *Dutch* alledged, the rooms they had taken were not belonging to the town, but to the nobles of *Gelderland*, and were below stairs; and that all above remained to be disposed of still by the Mediators for the common use of the parties when they should desire it. The *French* were not satisfied with these reasons, and threatened to break the assembly. We at last prevailed with the allies to forbear the use of the Stadthouse, till we drew up a formal proposal, to be made by us the Mediators, to all parties, desiring them, that, for their ease and convenience, all parties would meet in one room at the Stadthouse, or at least the two alliances in two several rooms, whilst we should meet in another, and be there ready to perform all offices between them. This last was accepted, and we designed the several rooms for ourselves and the parties; but were forced to find two rooms for the *French* and *Swedes* to meet apart, whose competition, though allies would not suffer them to meet in one, or decide it by lot, as the *Spaniard* and *Dane* had done.

There remained one difficulty more, which particularly concerned his Majesty. Both *French* and *Spaniards*, as well as *Imperialists*, had insisted, even with emulation, that the Pope's mediation should be mentioned in the new powers, as well as his Majesty's. The *Dutch* and *Danes* both had absolutely refused to treat upon any powers where the Pope's mediation should be mentioned. We had likewise represented to them, how great a difference there was between his Majesty's mediation, that had been accepted by all parties, and the Pope's, that had been so only by a part of them; and the very mention of it absolutely

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refused by several others, to be admitted into the powers: that his Majesty's mediation had proposed the place of treaty, exchanged the passports, formed the assembly, managed all the negotiations in it so long, without the appearance of any minister from the Pope, or knowledge whether he would be received if he came, or by whom his mediation would be accepted or employed. At length it was resolved, that the mention of his Majesty's mediation alone should be made in the several powers: and so all being agreed, about the middle of *February*, all the several acts were signed and put into our hands, and by us exchanged among the several parties.

After this dispatch of all preliminaries to the treaty, the several parties, by agreement, brought into our hands their several propositions or pretensions. The *French* seemed in theirs to demand nothing of the Emperor and of *Brandenburg*, but the entire restoring of the treaty of *Munster*; of *Spain*, the retaining of all they had conquered in this war, upon the *Spaniards* having first broken the peace. From the States General they made no demand, but offered them the restoring of their friendship, and that they would hearken to a treaty of commerce. On the other side, the Emperor's demands were, that *France* should restore to him, to the empire, and all his allies, whatever they had taken from them in the course of this war, and make reparation for all damages they had suffered in it. The *Spaniards* demanded all the places they had lost, and all the damages they had suffered from *France* since the year 1665. The *Dutch* demanded from *France* the restitution of *Maeſtricht*, satisfaction to the Prince of *Orange* in what did concern the principality of *Orange*, and a reglement of commerce, with a renunciation of all pretensions each party might have upon the other. As for the great damages they had sustained, they said,

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they sacrificed them all to the public peace, provided satisfaction might be given to their allies.

For the northern Kings and *German* Princes, their demands were so extended, that I shall forbear relating them, and sum them up in this only, That those who had gained by the war, pretended to retain all they had got; and those that had lost, pretended to recover all they had lost, and to be repaid the damages they had suffered by the war. Count *Kinski* delivered into our hands likewise the Duke of *Lorraine's* pretensions sealed as the rest were; but we opened them not, upon the *French* telling us they had not received from Court any counter-pretensions upon the Duke of *Lorraine*; whereof they believed the reason to be, that no Minister of his had yet appeared at the congress. Indeed, their pretensions against *Lorraine* had never yet been made since the death of the late Duke, and would have been very hard to draw up by their ablest Ministers or Advocates themselves; and therefore they thought fit to decline them, and reserve them for the terms of a peace, when they should be able to prescribe, rather than to treat them.

By these propositions of the several parties, it easily appeared to the world, what wise men knew before, how little hopes there were of a peace, from the motions of this treaty in the present circumstances of affairs, and how it was wholly to be expected from the course and influence of future events in the progress of the war.

About the 24th of *February*, I went to the Prince at his house at *Soesdyck*, a day's journey from *Nimeguen*, upon a letter from his Highness desiring it of me. I had about a week before written to him by the King's command; upon which his Highness desired to speak with me. I went, and told him the contents of my last dispatch. He asked me, whether it were from the King himself, or from any of the Ministers? I told him it was from Secretary *Williamson*, by the King's command.

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The Prince said, Then he knew from whence it came ; but however desired me to read the particulars to him ; which were, the King's apprehension of a mistake in the Prince, because the terms mentioned by his Majesty were not any propositions (which he did not think his part to make), nor had he any authority for it, but only a piece of confidence he had entered into with the Prince : next, that the exchange of *Cambray* was only proposed as a thing to be wished, that so six towns might be restored to *Spain*, instead of five the Prince had proposed, which, in his Majesty's opinion, would make a kind of a double frontier to *Brussels*, and so leave *Flanders* safer than by the Prince's scheme : therefore his Majesty desired the Prince would think further of it, and not let it fall so flat as he did by his last answer, without trying what it could be beaten out to : but, however offered, that, if his Highness had any other proposition to make to *France*, the King would very readily hand it over to them in the best manner he could.

Whilst I was reading this to the Prince, he could hardly hear it out with any patience, Sir I—W—'s style was always so disagreeable to him ; and he thought the whole cast of this so artificial, that he received it at first with indignation and scorn, rather than with those further thoughts that were desired of him. He said the style of *letting it fall so flat*, was my Lord *Arlington's* ; and *the double frontier, as it were, for Brussels*, was some of the Secretary's *creme fouetté* [*whipp'd cream*], and fit for children. The rest he took to be all the *French Ambassador's*, who would fain continue a private treaty with him by the King's hand, while his master went into the field. His answer was very plain, That he had thought enough of it, and had no more to say at this time : that, when he spoke to me so lately at the *Hague*, he believed the peace might have been made, and upon better terms than

than he proposed, if the King had desired them from *France*, either upon kindness to him, or upon the interest of his own crowns: that he was sorry to find the King's thoughts so different from his; and that, whenever they grew nearer, he should be glad to know it: but he looked now upon the campaign as begun, and believed, at the time we talked, the guns were playing before *Valenciennes*: that he saw no hopes of a peace, but expected a long war, unless *Flanders* should be lost, and in that case the States must make the best terms they could: that he expected a very ill beginning of the campaign, to make an ill figure in it himself, and to bear the shame of faults that others would make; but, if the Emperor performed what he had promised, the campaign might not end as it began: that, however, he was in, and must go on, *Et quand on est à la grande messe, on y est*, [and when one is at high-mass, one is at it], meaning, I suppose, that one must stay till it is done, because the crowd is so great one can't get out: that he gave his Majesty thanks for his offer of handing over to *France* any proposition he should make; but that never was his meaning; for if it had, he could easily have found a directer way: that his intention was only to enter into a confidence with his Majesty upon the subject of the peace, and to owe it wholly to him; but if any thing was proposed by the King to *France* otherwise than as his own thoughts, it must be from the body of the alliance, and not from him.

After these discourses, the Prince went immediately away for the *Hague*, and I returned to *Nimeguen*; where all negotiations seemed wholly at a stand, and so continued till towards the end of *April*. In this time arrived Monsieur *Stratman*, one of the Imperial Ambassadors; Monsieur *Christin*, one of the *Spanish*; but he and *Don Pedro* having only the character of Plenipotentiaries, and pretending thereupon the treatment of

of Ambassadors, and the *French* and *Swedes* refusing it to that character, they continued *incognito* till the arrival of the Marquis *De Balbaces*.

For Monsieur *Stratman*, upon his notification to the several Ambassadors (at the same time, as he said) the *Dane* and the *Swede* made him first their visits, and after them the *French*: whereupon, having first made his to the Mediators, he returned them to the *Swede*, the *Dane* being out of town; after which he sent to demand an hour of the *French*; but Monsieur *D'Estrades* returned him answer, that, having failed of the respect due to the King his master, they would not admit of any visit from him. Hereupon Monsieur *Kinski* and Monsieur *Stratman* desired us to ask upon what point the *French* refused their visit, saying, it could be upon no other but a pretence of preference to all other Crowns, and expecting the first visits to be made to the *French*, though other Ambassadors had first visited the Imperialists. This they desired much the *French* would avow, believing it would embroil them with the *Swedes* as well as with us, who they knew would declare against any such pretence. But the *French*, upon our application from the Imperialists, kept stanch to their first answer, that Monsieur *Stratman* *avoit manqué du respect au Roy leur maître*, [had been wanting in the respect due to the King their master]. That he had done it in several points, and knew very well in what: and further than this they would not enter into the matter, but continued positive in refusing the visit.

Whilst such matters as these helped to amuse the congress, and keep them in countenance, the essential parts of the treaty were managed in the field: *France* had in the beginning of the year blocked up *Cambray*; and *Valenciennes* about the end of *February*. Having provided sufficient magazines in the winter for the subsistence of their forces, they began to break into *Flanders*, and into the parts of *Germany* on the other side the

the *Rhine*, and with all the most cruel ravages of burning and spoiling those parts of *Germany* that could be exercised, and such as had not yet been used on either side since the war began. The allies made complaints of this new manner of war to his Majesty; who employed his offices towards *France*, to hinder such prosecution of a quarrel, while a peace was treating under his mediation: But the thing was done, and their point was gained; which was, by an entire ruin of the country, to hinder the Imperialists from finding any subsistence for their troops, if they should march into *Alsace*, and thereby divert those forces that the *French* resolved to employ this spring in *Flanders*, before the *Dutch* could take the field and march to the relief of those places they intended to attack.

About the seventeenth of *March*, the King of *France* took *Valenciennes*; having surmounted the very force of the seasons, and set down before it about the beginning of that month. From thence he marched with a mighty army, and laid siege to *Cambray* with one part of it, and to *St. Omer* with the other, under the Duke of *Orleans*. After five days siege from the opening of the trenches, he took *Cambray*, like all the other *Spanish* towns, by surrender upon articles; but the citadel held out for some days longer.

In the mean time, the *Dutch*, having received their payments due from *Spain*, and finding the *French* to go on with their design upon *Flanders*, whilst the treaty served but for an amusement, resolved to go on with the war for another campaign; being kept up to this resolution by the vigour of the Prince of *Orange*, in pressing them upon the observance of their treaties, and pursuit of their interest, in the defence of *Flanders*. Upon the first motion of the *French*, the Prince had begun to prepare for that of his troops likewise, and pressed the *Spaniards* to have theirs in readiness to join him; and with all imaginable endeavours provided

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For the subsistence of his army in their march through *Flanders*, which the *Spaniards* had taken no care of. But with all the diligence and application that could be used, he could not come to the relief either of *Valenciennes* or *Cambray*; but with part of the forces of the States alone, and without either troops, or so much as guides, furnished him by the *Spaniards*, he marched directly towards *St. Omer*, resolute to raise that siege with the hazard of a battle, at what disadvantage soever. The Duke of *Orleans*, leaving a small part of his troops to defend his trenches before *St. Omer*, marched to meet the Prince of *Orange*, and upon the way was re-inforced by Monsieur *De Luxemburg* with all the troops the *French* King could send out of his army, leaving only enough to continue the siege before the citadel of *Cambray*. These armies met, and fought with great bravery at *Mont-Cassel*, where, after a sharp dispute, the first regiment of the *Dutch* infantry began to break, and fell into disorder: the Prince went immediately to that part where the shake began, rallied them several times, and renewed the charge; but at last was borne down by the plain flight of his men, whom he was forced to resist like enemies, and fall in among them with his sword in his hand; and, cutting the first cross the face, cried out aloud, *Coquin, je te marquerai au moins, à fin de te faire pendre*, [*Rascal, I'll set a mark on thee at least, that I may hang thee afterwards.*] Voice nor actions, threats nor examples, could give courage to men that had already lost it; and so the Prince was forced to yield to the stream that carried him back to the rest of his troops, which yet stood firm; with whom, and what he could gather of those that had been routed, he made a retreat that wanted little of the honour of a victory; and will, by the confession of his enemies, make a part of that great character they so justly allow him. The safety of the *Dutch* army, upon this misfortune, was by them wholly

ly owned to his Highness's conduct as well as bravery in the course of this action; after which, both *St. Omar* and the citadel of *Cambray* were surrendered to the *French* about the twentieth of *April*, with which the *Spaniards* lost the main strength of their frontier of *Flanders* on that side, (as they had done that on the other side by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* in the former war) and all the hopes of raising any contributions in *France*, which was a great part of the subsistence of the *Spanish* troops; so as there now remained nothing of frontier considerable, besides *Namur* and *Mons* to the land, *Ostend* and *Newport* to the sea; and the rest of the *Spanish Netherlands* consisted only of great towns, by which no resistance could be hoped for, whenever the *French* should think fit to attack them, and could spare men enough to garrison them when they should be taken. For the greatness of those towns, and multitude of inhabitants, and their inveterate hatred to the *French* government, was such, as without very great garrisons they could not be held, unless, upon one sudden conquest and great revolution, the whole *Spanish Netherlands* should become *French*, and thereby be made a new frontier towards the *Dutch* and *Germans*, and, like a new conquest, the seat of their armies.

This the *Spaniards* thought would never be suffered, neither by *England* nor *Holland*; and so they seemed to have abandoned the fate of *Flanders* to their care, with a resignation that became good christians, rather than good reasoners. For I have long observed, from all I have seen, or heard, or read in story, that nothing is so fallacious, as to reason upon the counsels or conduct of Princes or States, from what one conceives to be the true interest of their countries; for there is in all places an interest of those that govern, and another of those that are governed: nay, among these, there is an interest of quiet men, that desire only to keep what they have; and another of unquiet men,

men, who desire to acquire what they have not; and by violent, if they cannot by lawful means. Therefore I never could find a better way of judging the resolutions of a State, than by the personal temper and understanding, or passions and humours, of the Princes, or chief Ministers, that were for the time at the head of affairs. But the *Spaniards* reasoned only from what they thought the interest of each country. They knew *Holland* would save *Flanders* if they could, and *England* they were sure could if they would, and believed would be brought to it at last by the increase of the danger, and force of their own interest, and the humour of the people. In this hope or presumption they were a great deal flattered by their Ministers then in *England*, *Don Bernard De Salinas* Envoy from *Spain*, and *Fonseca* Consul there; who did indeed very industriously foment the heats that began about this time to appear in the Parliament, upon the apprehensions of the *French* conquests both in *Flanders* and *Sicily*: which moved them, about the end of *March*, to make an address to the King, representing the progresses of *France*, and desiring his Majesty to put a stop to them, before they grew dangerous to *England*, as well as to their neighbours. *Don Bernard De Salinas* told some of the Commons, that the King was very angry at this address, and had said upon it, that the authors of it were a company of rogues; which made a great noise in the house of Commons. The King resented it as a piece of malice in *Salinas*, or at least as a design to inflame the house; and thereupon ordered him to depart the Kingdom within certain days. Yet, about a month after, the Parliament made another address, upon the same occasion; desiring his Majesty to make a league offensive and defensive with the States-General, for opposing the progress of the *French* conquests. This his Majesty received as an invasion of his prerogative,

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made them an angry answer, and prorogued the Parliament till the winter following.

However, *France* had so much regard to the jealousies raised both in *England* and *Holland*, of their designing an intire conquest of *Flanders*, that, after having gained those three important frontier-towns so early in the spring, and dispersed his army after that expedition, that King returned home; writ to his Majesty, that to shew he had no intention to conquer *Flanders*, but only to make a general peace, he was contented, notwithstanding the great advantages and forces he had at present, to make a general truce, in case his allies the *Swedes* would agree to it; which he desired his Majesty to inform himself of, since he had not convenience of doing it, for want of liberty of couriers into *Sweden*.

The contents of this letter were proned by the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* among the several Ministers there, till they found it had an effect contrary to what was intended, and was taken by all for too gross an artifice. It passed very ill with Monsieur *Van Beverning* himself, who, of all others there, was the most passionately bent upon the peace. But he said openly upon this, that the *French* were to be commended, who never neglected any thing of importance, nor so much as of amusement: that *France* had given their blow, and would now hinder the allies from giving theirs: that the reserve of *Sweden's* consent was an easy way of avoiding the truce, if the allies should accept it: that this itself could not be done, because *Flanders* would be left so open, as to be easily swallowed up by the next invasion, having no frontier on either side: that the towns, now possessed by *France*, would in the time of a truce grow absolutely *French*, and so the harder to be restored by a peace or a war: that, for his part, he desired the peace; contrary to the politics of Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, and the other Ministers of the allies

in *England*; affirming always, that, notwithstanding all their intrigues and intelligences there, he, Monsieur *Van Beverning*, was assured, that his Majesty would not enter into the war, to save the last town in *Flanders*. This confidence made him pursue all the ways towards a peace, and by paces which some thought forwarder than his commission, and very ill concerted with those of his allies. About the middle of *April*, he brought us the project of a treaty of commerce both for *France* and *Sweden*, and desired we would make the communication of them; which we did for form, though we knew that those Ministers had been before possessed of them from the *Dutch* Ambassadors themselves. And, some few days after, they entered into conferences upon this project at the *French* Ambassadors houses, whom they found very easy in the terms the *Dutch* insisted on for their commerce, which was all that could make any difficulty between them.

1677. About the end of *April*, the ministers of the allies came, and presented us their several answers in writing to the *French* propositions; which they offered to leave with us, whenever we should assure them that the *French* and *Swedes* were ready with theirs. Upon this communication given to the *French*, they were positive to give no answer in writing, nor to receive any, alledging both reason and example for their opinion; *this* from the practice of the *Munster*-treaty, *that* from the danger of the invective style or language that are apt to enter into the writings of each party upon such occasions. The allies were for some time as peremptory in their resolution of delivering their answers in writing; but both at last agreed upon the expedient we proposed, of dictating to us what they intended should be said to the other party, of our setting the substance down in writing, and reading it over to them first who dictated to us, so as they might be judges whether we had rightly apprehended and expressed their meaning; and

and yet the thing might go in our style, and not in theirs; by which all sharpness and provocation would be avoided.

About the middle of *May*, arrived President *Canon*, Envoy from the Duke of *Lorrain*, and put his master's pretensions into our hands; upon which the allies expected a return of those from *France* upon that Duke, no room being now left for delaying them from the want of a minister upon the place: but the *French* said very plainly, it was a matter they were not instructed in; which the allies received with great stomach, and perpetual complaints to us the Mediators; all professing they were resolved not to proceed in the treaty, without carrying on the interests of that Duke, an equal pace with their own.

About the end of *May*, arrived the Pope's *Nuncio*; whereupon the *Swedish* and *Danish* Ambassadors resorted immediately to us, desiring to know how we intended to carry ourselves in what regarded that minister; professing themselves to be much in pain, being on one side very much pressed, the *Swedes* by the *French*, and the *Danes* by the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*, to the interchange at least of common ceremonies and civilities, with a minister for whom they all with emulation professed so great respect and deference: on the other side, the *Swedes* and *Danes* pretended neither to have instruction nor example from their respective Courts, to determine them in this matter; but said they were resolved to observe and consider the steps that should be made by us. We cut the business very short, and declared to them our resolution to have no sort of commerce with the Pope's *Nuncio*, either in the affairs of our function, or in matters of ceremony; and told them, our orders from Court were so precise in this point, that they would admit of no debate. The next day, Monsieur *Colbert*, and Monsieur *D'Avaux* came formally to give us part of the *Nuncio's* arrival,
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and of his desire to make us his first compliments, if he might know they would be received: our answer to them was the same we had made to the *Swedes* and *Danes*; and, soon after, all the ministers of Protestant Princes at *Nimeguen* resolved to follow our example, and to have no commerce at all with the Nuncio.

About the same time, after many messages carried by us between the parties, they were persuaded at last into the agreement of delivering and exchanging, by our hands, their answers to each others propositions in writing, tho' without pretending to pursue that method in the succeeding paces of the negotiation. Nor was there need of that caution, for this I take to have been the last pace of any free and general negotiation between the parties engaged in the war and in the treaty; nor were the answers any thing nearer agreeing, than the first propositions.

The last day of *May*, arrived the *Marquis De Balbates*, First Ambassador from *Spain*; and, about the same time, my Lord *Berkley* returned into *England*, where he languished out the rest of the summer, and died.

About the 7th of *June*, the *Dutch* Ambassadors brought us the project of a treaty between them and *France*, digested and extended in all its forms and articles; and told us soon after, They had, in a conference upon it with the *French* Ambassadors, agreed in a manner all the points of it; at least, that there remained but two, which concerned commerce only, undetermined between them, which they doubted not would be agreed likewise upon return of the *French* dispatches from court: that, after their business was ended, they would perform the best offices they could between their allies and the *French*. And indeed, by the beginning of *July*, all points were accordingly agreed between the *French* and *Dutch*, and Monsieur

Van

Van Beverning began to play the part of something more than a mediator ; pressing on his allies towards a peace with paces very earnest and something rough, and, as some believed, more than he had order for from his Masters, who yet pretended to hold hands with their allies. But Monsieur *Van Beverning* professed to believe, that their friends at the *Hague* were imposed upon by *Van Beuninghen* and the *Spanish* Ministers at *London*, who still animated them with hopes of the King's entering into the war, or at least prescribing a plan of the peace to be received by all parties ; which *Van Beverning* believed neither one nor the other of, and pretended to be morally assured of his opinion, and thereupon grounded the absolute necessity of a peace.

In this month, the Duke of *Zell* began to make a difficulty of sending the five thousand men he had promised to the allies, without some new stipulations ; and the *French* offered a guarantee to the house of *Lunenburg* of all their conquests on the *Swede* in *Bremen*, upon a neutrality to be declared by those Dukes ; which began to give great umbrages to the allies, as well as the *Swedes*, of some separate measures like to be concluded between *France* and the whole house of *Brunswick*. The *Dutch* Ambassadors were likewise in pain, upon new intelligence, both from *Vienna* and *Madrid*, about a separate peace being treated between *Don John* and the *French*, with an exchange of the *Spanish Netherlands* for what should be restored them in *Roussillon* and *Sicily*. The Ministers of the confederates made great instances in *England*, that his Majesty would recall his troops that were in the *French* service, attributing most of their successes in *Germany* to the bravery of those *English* regiments. But his Majesty excused it upon the equality of a Mediator, since there were *English* troops of greater number in the service of the allies : who took this answer however for an ill sign of that

that prosecution which they hoped from his Majesty for the relief of their languishing affairs. The hopes of those great actions promised by the *Imperialists* this summer on the *Rhine* began to flat, their troops finding no subsistence in those countries, which had been wholly desolated by the *French* in the beginning of the year, to prevent their march. The Prince of *Orange* observing all these circumstances, and foreseeing no resource for the interest of the allies, unless from his Majesty; and that it was likely to prove an unactive summer in *Flanders*, the *French* resolving not to come to a battle, and he not able to form a siege, and oppose a *French* army that should come to relieve it; he sent Monsieur *Bentinck* over into *England* about the beginning of *June*, to desire his Majesty's leave that he might make a journey thither so soon as the campaign ended. He received a civil answer; but with wishes from the King, that he would first think of making the peace, and rather defer his journey till that were concluded.

About the middle of *June*, my son came over to me at *Nimeguen*, and brought me letters from my Lord Treasurer, to signify his Majesty's pleasure that I should come over, and enter upon the Secretary of State's office, which Mr. *Coventry* had offered his Majesty to lay down upon the payment of ten thousand pounds: that the King would pay half the money, and I must lay down the rest at present; though his Lordship did not doubt but the King would find the way of easing me in time of that too. I writ immediately to my Lord Treasurer to make my acknowledgment to his Majesty; but at the same time my excuses, that I was not in a condition to lay down such a sum, my father being still alive, and keeping the estate of the family; and desiring that the King's intention might at least be respited, till he saw how the present treaty was like to determine. In return of my letters, on the second of *July*, Mr. *Smith*, one of the King's messengers,

messengers, being sent express, and making great diligence, arrived at *Nimeguen*, and brought me his Majesty's commands to repair immediately over in a yacht which he had sent on purpose for me: in obedience to this command I left *Nimeguen*, but without any ceremony, pretending only a sudden journey into *England*, but saying nothing of the occasion, further than to my nearest friends.

At my arrival, the King asked me many questions about my journey, about the congress, *draping* us for spending him so much money, and doing nothing; and about Sir *Lionel*, asking me how I had bred him, and how he passed among the Ambassadors there; and other pleasantries upon that subject. After a good deal of this kind of conversation, he told me, I knew for what he had sent for me over, and that it was what he had long intended; and I was not to thank him, because he did not know any body else to bring into that place. I told his Majesty, that it was too great a compliment for me, but was a very ill one to my country, and which I thought it did not deserve: that I believed there were a great many in it fit for that, or any other place he had to give; and I could name two in a breath that I would undertake should make better Secretaries of State than I. The King said, go, get you gone to *Sheen*; we shall have no good of you till you have been there; and, when you have rested yourself, come up again. I never saw him in better humour, nor ever knew a more agreeable conversation when he was so; and, where he was pleased to be familiar, great quickness of conception, great pleasantness of wit, with great variety of knowledge, more observation and truer judgment of men, than one would have imagined by so careless and easy a manner as was natural to him in all he said or did. From his own temper, he desired nothing but to be easy himself, and that every body else should be so; and would have been
glad

glad to see the least of his subjects pleased, and to refuse no man what he asked. But this softness of temper made him apt to fall into the persuasions of whoever had his kindness and confidence for the time, how different soever from the opinions he was of before; and he was very easy to change hands, when those he employed seemed to have engaged him in any difficulties: so as nothing looked steady in the conduct of his affairs, nor aimed at any certain end. Yet sure no Prince has more qualities to make him loved, with a great many to make him esteemed, and all without a grain of pride or vanity in his whole constitution: nor can he suffer flattery in any kind, growing uneasy upon the first approaches of it, and turning it off to something else. But this humour has made him lose many great occasions of glory to himself, and greatness to his crown, which the conjunctures of his reign conspired to put into his hand; and have made way for the aspiring thoughts and designs of a neighbour Prince, which would not have appeared, or could not have succeeded in the world, without the applications and arts employed to manage this easy and inglorious humour of the King.

I staid two days at *Sheen*, in which time some of Secretary *Coventry's* friends had prevailed with him not to part with his place, if he could help it, unless the King would let him recommend the person to succeed him, who should pay all the money he expected, and which the King had charged himself with. When I came to town, the King told me in his closet all that had passed between him and Mr. *Coventry* the day before upon this occasion: that he did not understand what he meant, nor what was at the bottom; for he had first spoke to his Majesty about parting with his place, said his health would not go through with it, made the price he expected for it, and concluded all before he had sent for me over: that now he pretended

he did not mean to quit it, unless he might present one to succeed him; and he hoped he had not deserved his Majesty should turn him out. But the King said upon it, that under favour, he was resolved to take him at his word; and so he had told him, and left him to digest it as he could. Upon this I represented to the King, how old and true a servant Mr. *Coventry* had been of his father and him; how well he had served him in this place; how well he was able to do it still by the great credit he had in the house of Commons, where the King's great business lay in the ill state of his revenue; how ill such a treatment would agree with his Majesty's nature and customs: and for my own part, that it would be a great favour to me to respite this change, till he saw what was like to become of the treaty, or the war; and therefore I begged of him that he would not force a good Secretary out, and perhaps an ill one in, against both their wills; but let Mr. *Coventry* keep it, at least till he seemed more willing to part with it. The King said, well then, he would let it alone for the present, but did not doubt, in a little time, one or other of us would change our mind.

In the mean time, the design of my journey was known, my Lord *Arlington* and others still asking me when they should give me joy of it, and many making applications to me for places in the office, which made the Court uneasier to me, and increased my known humour of loving the country, and being as much in it as I could. However, when I came to Court, the King fell often into conversation with me, and often in his closet alone, or with none other present besides the Duke or my Lord Treasurer, and often both. The subject of these conversations was usually the peace, and the Prince of *Orange's* journey into *England*. The King always expressed a great desire for the first, but not at all for the other till that was concluded. He said

said, his Parliament would never be quiet nor easy to him while the war lasted abroad: they had got it into their heads to draw him into it, whether he would or no: that they pretended public ends, and dangers from *France*, and there might be both meant by a great many honest men among them; but the heats and distempers of late had been raised by some factious leaders, who thought more of themselves than of any thing else, had a mind to engage him in a war, and then leave him in it, unless they might have their terms in removing and filling of places; and he was very loth to be so much at their mercy, as he should be if he were once engaged in the war: that, besides, he saw the longer it continued, the worse it would be for the confederates; more of *Flanders* would be lost every day; the conduct of *Spain* must certainly ruin all in time; and therefore he would fain have the Prince make the peace for them, if they would not do it for themselves: that, if he and the Prince could fall into the terms of it, he was sure it might be done. And, after several discourses upon this subject for near a month, his Majesty at last told me, he had a great mind I should make a short turn to the Prince, and try if I could persuade him to it; and assure him, that, after it was agreed, he should be the gladdest in the world to see him in *England*. The Duke and my Lord Treasurer both pressed me upon the same point; but I told them, at a long conference upon it, how often I had been employed upon this errand to the Prince, how unmoveable I had found him, and how sure I was to find him so still, unless the King would consider of another scheme for the peace than had been yet proposed to him, and wherein he might reckon upon more safety to *Flanders*, as well as to his own honour: that I had spent all my shot, and was capable of saying no more to him than I had done, in obedience to all the instructions I had received: that his answers had been

positive;

positive; so that some of my good friends at Court pretended they had been my own thoughts rather than the Prince's: that his Majesty would do well to try another hand, and he would the better know the Prince's mind, if his answers were the same to both; if not, he would at least know how ill I had served him. The King said, it was a thing of confidence between him and the Prince, and must be so treated, and he knew no body he had besides to send. I told him, if he pleased I would name one: he bid me; and I said Mr. *Hide* was idle ever since his return from *Nimeguen*, had been entered into the commission of the Mediators there, staid with us a fortnight or three weeks, might pretend to return thither to exercise the same function in my absence, since the commission run to any two of the number, and might take the Prince of *Orange's* camp in his way to *Nimeguen*, perform the King's commands to his Highness, inform himself of his last resolution upon the subject of the peace, go on to *Nimeguen* without giving any jealousy to the allies, or without the noise that my going would make, since Sir *Lionel* had writ to Court and to me, that Monsieur *Van Beverning* had desired all paces should stop there till my return, which he heard would be sudden, and that the King would send by me his own plan of the peace. The Duke fell in first to the proposal of Mr. *Hide's* going; and, after some debate, the King and my Lord Treasurer, and that it should be as soon as possible. He was sent for accordingly, and dispatched away in all points as I had proposed. He found the Prince at the camp, but unmoveable in the business of the peace upon the terms his Majesty had thoughts of proceeding; gave account of all that passed in that conference to the King, and went straight away to *Nimeguen*, and writ me word of his conversation with the Prince, and that he never saw such a firmness in any man.

I knew Mr. *Hide's* going to reside at *Nimeguen* would be of great comfort and support to Sir *Lionel*, who was in perpetual agonies (as his word was) after he was left alone in that station; having ever so much distrust of his own judgment, that, though he had the greatest desire that could be to do well, yet he many times could not resolve how to go about it; and was often as much perplexed about the little punctilio's of visit and ceremony that were left to busy that embassy, as if greater affairs had still attended it. Besides, he lay under the lash of Secretary *Williamson*, who, upon old grudges between them at *Cologne*, never failed to lay hold of any occasion he could to censure his conduct, and expose it at the foreign committee, where his letters were read to his Majesty. It happened about this time, that the *Spanish* Ambassadors, first appearing in public upon a new commission to all three, gave immediate notice of it to the Imperialists, who made their visit upon it, and were within two hours revisited by the *Spaniards*. After which, they sent their formal notifications to all the other Ambassadors, and to the Mediators in the first place. Sir *Lionel* was in pain, having orders to pretend the first rank of respect before the Imperialists, as well as other Ambassadors there; and not to yield, if it came in competition. He had likewise another order, which was, that upon matters in ceremony, doubtful, and not admitting the delay of new orders, he should consult with the other Ambassadors, especially *French* and *Swedish*, who used to carry those points the highest, and govern himself as well as he could by precedents and examples. He consulted both these Ambassadors, whether he should visit the *Spaniards*, after their having given the first notice to the Imperialists? and they concluded, that he should first know of them, whether it was done in form, as to Ambassadors in general; or whether it was upon the account of the near alliance in blood between

tween those two houses of *Austria*? that, if it were the first, he ought not to visit them, as having put a disrespect upon the mediation, and distinguished the Emperor from all the other crowned heads, who had yielded the precedence wholly to them; which they would not have done, if the Emperor had refused it. But, if the *Spaniards* affirmed it was only upon the nearness of blood between them, none of the other Ambassadors need take any notice of it, since the same had been done between those two crowns at *Munster* upon the same score; which being there declared, it gave no offence to the Mediators, though they were the Pope's Nuncios, with whom there was otherwise no competition. Sir *Lionel* was satisfied by the *Spaniards* (who gave it him in writing) that the visits were made only upon the score of kindred, as at *Munster*; and thereupon made them his visit, and received theirs: for which he was sharply reprov'd by Secretary *Williamson's* letter upon it, who had represented it to the King as a disobedience to a positive order, and giving up the point to the Imperialists. But, being at Court soon after these dispatches, I endeavour'd to justify my colleague's intentions and his proceedings, by shewing that he had conform'd to his other orders of consulting the other Ambassadors, and proceeding according to the best precedent, which was that of *Munster*; and that, if he had broken with the *Spaniards* upon this point, he would have provok'd the Imperialists to declare their resolution of not yielding to the Mediators, upon which the other Ambassadors would recall the concession which they had already made in this point, and so hazard, if not lose, the possession his Majesty was in, of the first respect given to his mediation. I had the good fortune to satisfy his Majesty and his Ministers, and to obtain orders for his gracious pardon to be sent to Sir *Lionel*, (for they would suffer it to run in no other terms;) for which, however, the poor

poor gentleman made as great acknowledgments, as if his fault had been much greater and worse meant.

The rest of this summer passed without any further paces made in the congress at *Nimeguen*; where the messages, carried and returned about the business of *Lorrain*, served to keep the Mediators in countenance, and no more. The whole body of the allies pressed for an answer from the *French* to that Duke's pretensions, delivered in by President *Canon*. The *French*, after their former exception of his wanting a Minister there, raised another to stave off these instances of the allies, and declared they could give no answer about *Lorrain*, till the Bishop of *Strasbourg's* agents were received by the allies, upon which the Emperor made an invincible difficulty, declaring he would never treat with a vassal of his own: and, in these conferences about *Lorrain*, the *French* Ambassadors began to insinuate to the Mediators, that their master never intended that to be treated as a principal, but only as an accessory to the treaty.

In *August* arrived at *Nimeguen* the Bishop of *Gurck*, chief of the Imperial embassy; and Count *Antoine*, of that from *Denmark*: the first was immediately visited by the *Spanish* Ambassadors, and returned it; after which he sent his notifications to the Mediators, and from them to the other Ambassadors; upon which no difficulty was made by them, since the Bishop made the same declaration the *Spaniards* had done before upon the like occasion, that the first visits, passing between the Ministers of the two houses of *Austria*, were visits of kindness and consanguinity, and not of ceremony. But Count *Antoine* fell into endless difficulties upon his first arrival. He intended to have sent his first notifications to the Mediators, as others had done; but the *Imperialists*, having notice of this intention, sent him direct word, they expected the first respect should be given the Emperor; and this was the first time they owned

owned that pretension, in prejudice of the honour hitherto done to the King's mediation. Count *Antoine* sent Monsieur *Heug*, his colleague, to acquaint the Mediators with this incident, and desire them to find out some expedient: they excused themselves, alledging their positive orders to expect the first notifications. the *Danes* were as unwilling to disoblige his Majesty as the Emperor; and found no temper in this matter after many offered both by *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors; so that Count *Antoine* resolved to leave it undecided, and to give no notifications, or receive or make any visits, but however assisted at the conferences among the allies, and made a part of all the evening entertainments, at play and in conversation, in the apartments of the several Ambassadrices; and this course he observed, during his stay at *Nimeguen*, which was seven or eight months: for the rest, a person very much esteemed for his generous qualities, and gentlemanly humour and conversation, and yielding to none upon the place in the greatness and splendour of his equipage; wherein the Marquis *De Balbaces* and Count *Antoine* seemed to distinguish themselves from all the rest.

About the end of *July*, the Prince of *Orange* made an attempt upon *Charleroy*, rather than a siege. This had been before concerted with the Duke of *Lorraine*; who made a mien of entering into *Champagne*, on purpose to draw off the *French* forces from attending the Prince's motions and design upon *Charleroy*. The Prince had hopes to take it by surprize; but found those of the garrison upon their guard, and very strong as well as the place, which had been fortified with all the force of art and expence, that could be employed upon a place of that compass. He sat down before it, and would have besieged it in form, if the Duke of *Lorraine* could have diverted the *French* army from relieving it; but Monsieur *De Louvois*, with great diligence,

gence, leaving the Marshal *De Crequi* with force enough to face that Duke, assembled a very great army for the relief of *Charleroy*; upon approach whereof, the Prince called a council of war, to resolve whether to march and fight the *French* army, or raise the siege. The last was resolved, upon debate at the council, and accordingly executed, and therewith ended this campaign in *Flanders*. But this march and retreat of the Prince passed not without many reflexions, not only among the allies, but in *Holland* too, as if he had given over the design upon some intelligences and expresses between him and the King about this time. Monsieur *Bentinck* had gone over and returned, without any body's knowing his business: my Lord *Offory* happened to arrive in the camp, the day before the council of war, upon which the siege was raised; which made many think, something his Lordship brought from *England* was the occasion of it. But I could never find there was any thing more in his journey than the hopes of seeing a battle, (which was ever a particular inclination of my Lord *Offory*) and a cast of my Lord *Arlington* to preserve himself in the Prince's favour and confidence as much as he could, by my Lord *Offory's* keeping close to him, as at a time when he saw the business of *Christendom* roll so much upon the person of the Prince.

About this time, the assembly at *Nimeguen* seemed in danger of being broken by a passionate motion the *Swedes* made in it. There had been a long contest since it first began, between the *Swedes* and *Danes*, about freedom of passage for the *Swedish* couriers through the *Danish* territories, for managing the correspondencies necessary with their Court. The *Danes* pretended the example of *France*, who refused the same liberty to the *Spaniards*. This dispute had been managed by many messages, wherewith the Mediators had been charged between the parties, wherein the allies of both sides

took equal part. Sometimes the matter had been treated with very pressing instances, and sometimes with fainter; sometimes almost let fall, and then again resumed; and thus for above a year past: but, about this time, the *Swedes* come to the Mediators, desire their offices once more to the *Danes* upon this subject, and declare, that, without this liberty insisted upon so long for their couriers, they find themselves incapable of giving advices necessary to their Court, or receiving orders necessary from it; and that, without it, they must be forced to leave the assembly. This resolution of the *Swedes* continued for some time so peremptory, that it was expected to come to that issue; but after some *fougue* spent for about a fortnight or three weeks upon this occasion, and some temperament found out by the *Dutch* for the secure and speedy passage of all the *Swedish* dispatches by *Amsterdam*, those Ambassadors began to grow soft and calm again, and to go on their usual paces. Soon after, the *French* Ambassadors, who had treated the *Swedish* affairs and ministers with great indifferency and neglect in this treaty, (declaring to Monsieur *Van Beverning*, their master would not part with one town in *Flanders*, to restore the *Swedes* to all they had lost) began wholly to change their language, and say upon all occasions, that *France* could not make a peace without the full satisfaction and restitution of the *Swedes*; and it was discoursed, that the *French* and *Swedes* had entered into a new alliance at *Paris* to this purpose: and some believed, it was by concert between them, that this *atteinte* was given by the *Swedes* to the congress; that the *French* had at that time a mind to break it, and to enter into a treaty with *Spain* under the Pope's direction, and at *Rome*, not knowing to what measures his Majesty might be induced upon the progress of the *French* conquests, and the distempers raised in his Parliament upon that occasion. But, this gust blown over, all was becalmed at

Nimeguen;

Nimeguen; so that Monsieur *Olivecrans* left that place about the end of *August*, upon a journey to *Sweden*.

Till this time the motions of business had been repited in the assembly, upon a general expectation that the King was sending me over suddenly with the plan of a peace that he resolved should be made, and to which it was not doubted but all parties would yield, whatever it was; so great a regard was held on all sides, of his Majesty's will and power. But a greater stop was yet given to all further paces there, by the Prince of *Orange's* journey into *England*, about the end of *September* 1677, which wholly changed the scene of this treaty, and for the present carried it over to *London*, and left all other places at a gaze only, and in expectation of what should be there agitated and concluded.

CHAP. III.

THE Prince, like a hasty lover, came post from *Harwich* to *New-market*, where the Court then was, as a season and place of country sports. My Lord *Arlington* attended his Highness at his alighting, making his pretence of the chief confidence with him; and the Court expected it upon his alliance and journeyes into *Holland*. My Lord Treasurer and I went together to wait on him, but met him upon the middle of the stairs, in a great crowd, coming down to the King. He whispered to us both together, and said to me, that he must desire me to answer for him and my Lord Treasurer one to another, so as they might from that time enter both into business and conversation, as if they had been of a longer acquaintance; which was a wise strain, considering his Lordship's credit in Court at that time, and was of great use to the Prince in the course of his affairs then in *England*; and though it much shocked my Lord *Arlington* and his friends,

yet

yet it could not be wondered at by such as knew what had passed of late between the Prince and him, with whom he only lived in common forms during his stay. He was very kindly received, by the King and the Duke, who both invited him often into discourses of business, which they wondered to see him avoid or divert industriously, so as the King bid me find out the reason of it. The Prince told me, he was resolved to see the young Princess before he entered into affairs; and to proceed in that, before the other of the peace. The King laughed at this piece of nicety, when I told it him; but however, to humour him in it, said he would go some days sooner than he had intended from *New-market*; which was accordingly done.

The Prince, upon his arrival in town, and sight of the Princess, was so pleased with her person, and all those signs of such a humour as had been described to him upon former inquiries, that he immediately made his suit to the King and the Duke; which was very well received and assented to, but with this condition, that the terms of a peace abroad might be first agreed on between them. The Prince excused himself, and said he must end his first business before he began the other. The King and Duke were both positive in their opinion; and the Prince resolute in his; and said at last, that his allies, who were like to have hard terms of the peace as things then stood, would be apt to believe that he had made this match at their cost, and, for his part, he would never sell his honour for a wife. This prevailed not, but the King continued so positive for three or four days, that my Lord Treasurer and I began to doubt the whole business would break upon this punctilio. About that time I chanced to go to the Prince after supper, and found him in the worst humour that I ever saw him; he told me, he repented he had ever come into *England*, and resolved he would stay but two days longer, and then be gone, if the King

King continued in his mind of treating upon the peace before he was married; but that, before he went, the King must chuse how they should live hereafter, for he was sure it must be either like the greatest friends, or the greatest enemies; and desired me to let his Majesty know so next morning, and give him account of what he should say upon it. I did so, early in the morning, told the King all the Prince had said to me the night before, and the ill consequences of a breach between them, considering the ill humour of so many of his subjects upon our late measures with *France*, and the invitations made the Prince by several of them, during the late war. The King heard me with great attention; and, when I had done, said, well, I never yet was deceived in judging of a man's honesty by his looks (of which he gave me some examples) and, if I am not deceived in the Prince's face, he is the honestest man in the world, and I will trust him, and he shall have his wife, and you shall go immediately and tell my brother so, and that it is a thing I am resolved on. I did so, and the Duke at first seemed a little surprised; but, when I had done, he said, the King shall be obeyed, and I would be glad all his subjects would learn of me to obey him: I do tell him my opinion very freely upon any thing; but when that is done, and I know his pleasure upon it, I obey him. From the Duke I went to the Prince, and told him my story, which he could at first hardly believe, but embraced me, and said I had made him a very happy man, and very unexpectedly: and so I left him to give the King an account of what had passed, and in the Prince's anti-chamber met my Lord Treasurer, and told him the story, who undertook to adjust all the rest between the King and the Prince; which he did so well, that the match was declared that evening at the committee, before any other in Court knew any thing of it; and next day it was declared in council, and received there
and

and every where else in the kingdom, with the most universal joy that ever I saw any thing in the King's reign. The *French* Ambassador and my Lord *Arlington* appeared the only two persons unsatisfied upon it at Court; the first not knowing how he should answer it to his master, that an affair of that importance should pass without his communication, much less advice, in a Court where nothing before had been done so for many years; and my Lord *Arlington*, that it should pass without his knowledge, who still endeavoured to keep up the Court-opinion of his confidence with the Prince; who told me the compliment his Lordship had made him upon it, that some things good in themselves were spoiled by the manner of doing them, as some things bad were mended by it; but he would confess this was a thing so good in itself, that the manner of doing it could not spoil it.

Within two or three days the marriage was consummated, and immediately after, they fell into the debates upon the terms of the peace; to which, as to that of the match, none but My Lord Treasurer and I were admitted. The Prince insisted hard upon the strength and enlargement of a frontier on both sides of *Flanders*; without which, *France*, he said, would end this war with the view of beginning another, and carrying *Flanders* in one campaign. The King was content to leave that business a little looser; upon the confidence that *France* was so weary of this war, that, if they could get out of it with honour, they would never begin another in this reign: that the King grew past his youth, and lazy, and would turn to the pleasures of the Court, and building, and leave his neighbours in quiet. The Prince thought *France* would not make a peace now, but to break the present confederacy, and to begin another war with more advantage and surprize: that their ambition would never end, till they had all *Flanders* and *Germany* to the *Rhine*, and
thereby

thereby *Holland* in an absolute dependence upon them ; which would leave them in an ill condition, and us in no good one : and that *Christendom* could not be left safe by the peace, without such a frontier as he proposed for *Flanders*, and the restitution of *Lorraine*, as well as what the Emperor had lost in *Alsace*. Upon this I told the King, that, in the course of my life, I had never observed mens natures to alter by age or fortunes ; but that a good boy made a good man ; and a young coxcomb, an old fool ; and a young *Fripon*, an old knave ; and that quiet spirits were so, young as well as old, and unquiet ones would be so, old as well as young : that I believed the King of *France* would always have some bent or other, sometimes war, sometimes love, sometimes building ; but that I was of the Prince's opinion, that he would make peace with a design of a new war, after he had fixed his conquest by the last : and the King approved what I said. The points of *Lorraine* and *Alsace* were easily agreed to by the King and Duke ; but they would not hear of the county of *Burgundy*, as what *France* could never be brought to, though the Prince insisted much upon it ; so as the King imagined he was touched by the interest of his own lands in that county, (which are greater and more *Seigneurial* than those of the Crown of *Spain* there) and thereupon told him, that for his lands he would charge himself with either his enjoying them as safely under *France* as *Spain* ; or, if he should rather chuse to part with them than have that dependence, he would undertake to get him what price he should himself value them at. But the Prince answered briskly and generously, that he should not trouble himself nor the peace about that matter ; and that he would be content to lose all his lands there, to get one good town more for the *Spaniards*, upon the frontier of *Flanders* ; so all difficulties began to terminate upon what was esteemed necessary there. This admitted great debates

bates between the King and Prince; one pretending *France* would never be brought to one scheme; and the other, that *Spain* would never consent to the other. But at the last it was agreed, that the peace should be made upon these terms, All to be restored by *France* to the empire and Emperor that had been taken in the war; the duchy of *Lorrain* to that Duke; and all on both sides between *France* and *Holland*; and to *Spain* the towns of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenarde*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, *St. Ghislain*, and *Binch*. That the Prince should endeavour to procure the consent of *Spain*, and his Majesty that of *France*; for which purpose he should send some person immediately over with the proposition, who should be instructed to enter into no reasonings upon it, but demand a positive answer in two days, and after that term immediately return. The question was, who should go? and my Lord Treasurer said, it must be he or I, for none else had been acquainted with the debate of this business. The Prince said, it must be I, for my Lord Treasurer could not be spared; and it must be some person upon whose judgment and truth he could rely, as to the intentions of that Court. The King ordered me to be ready in two days, which I was; and the evening before I was to go, meeting his Majesty in the park, he called me to him, and a little out of countenance, told me, he had been thinking of my journey and errand, and how unwelcome I should be in *France* as well as my message; and, having a mind to gain the peace, he was unwilling to anger them more than needs. Besides, the things being not to be reasoned or debated, any body else would serve the turn as well as I, whom he had other use of; and therefore he had been thinking to send some other person. I saw he doubted I would take it ill; but told him, and very truly, he would do me the greatest pleasure in the world; for I never had less mind to any journey in my life, and should not have

have accepted, but in perfect obedience. The King, that was the gentlest Prince in the world of his own nature, fell into good humour upon seeing I took it not ill, pretending to think whom he should send, and at last asked me what I thought of my Lord *Duras*? I said, very well; upon which he seemed to resolve it. But the thing had been agreed in the morning, as I was told, upon the Duke's desire, who thought *France* would accept the terms, and that the peace would be made, and had a mind to have the honour of it, by sending a servant of his own. Whether there were any other motive, I know not; but my Lord *Duras* went immediately with the orders before-mentioned; and, some few days after, the Prince and Princess embarked for *Holland*; where affairs pressed his return beyond the hopes of my Lord *Duras* from *France*; the King assuring him, he would never part from the least point of the scheme sent over, and would enter into the war against *France*, if they refused it. However, he went not away without a great mortification, to see the Parliament prorogued to next spring; which the *French* Ambassador had gained of the King, to make up some good mien with *France* after the Prince's marriage, and before the dispatch of the terms of a peace to that Court.

Upon my Lord *Duras*'s arrival at *Paris*, the Court there were surprised, both at the thing, and more at the manner; but made good mien upon it, took it gently, said, the King knew very well he might always be master of the peace; but some of the towns in *Flanders* seemed very hard, especially *Tournay*, upon whose fortifications such vast treasures had been expended; and that they would take some short time to consider of the answer. My Lord *Duras* told them, he was tied to two days stay; but, when that was out, he was prevailed with to stay some few days longer, and to come away without a positive answer: what he

brought was, what they had said to him before; that the Most Christian King hoped his brother would not break with him upon one or two towns; but, even upon them too, he would send orders to his Ambassador at *London* to treat with his Majesty himself. By this gain of time, and artificial drawing it into treaty without any positive refusal, this blow came to be eluded, which could not easily have been so any other way. The King was softened by the softness of *France*: the Ambassador said at last, he had leave to yield all but *Tournay*, and to treat even for some equivalent for that too, if the King insisted absolutely upon it. The Prince was gone, who had spirited the vigour of the whole resolution; and the treaty of it began to draw out into messages and returns from *France*.

However, the ill humour of people growing higher, upon the noise of a peace, and negotiated in *France*, and the late prorogation of Parliament, this was by proclamation anticipated soon after my Lord *Duras*'s return, though a thing something unusual, and a countenance made as if the King resolved to enter into the war: For which the Parliament seemed impatient, whenever the King seemed averse to it; but grew jealous of some tricks, whenever the Court seemed inclined to it. About the end of *December* 1677, the King sent for me to the foreign committee, and told me, he could get no positive answer from *France*, and therefore resolved to send me into *Holland*, to make a league there with the States, for forcing both *France* and *Spain*, if either refused, to make the peace upon the terms he had proposed. I told the King, what he had agreed was to enter into the war with all the confederates, in case of no direct and immediate answer from *France*: that this, perhaps, would satisfy both the Prince and confederates abroad, and the people at home: but to make such a league with *Holland* only would satisfy none of them, and disoblige both *France*

and

and Spain. Besides, it would not have an effect or force as the triple-alliance had; that being a great original, of which this seemed but an ill copy; and therefore excused myself from going. The King was set upon it, though I pretended domestic affairs of great importance upon the death of my father: and pleaded so hard, that the Duke at last desired the King not to press me upon a thing I was so averse from, and would be so inconvenient to me; and desired I might propose who should be sent with the treaty. I made my acknowledgments to the Duke for his favour, and proposed, that Mr. *Thynn* should be sent from the office with a draught of the treaty to Mr. *Hide*, who was then come from *Nimeguen* to the *Hague*, upon a visit to the Princess. This was done, and the treaty signed there on the sixteenth of *January*, though not without great difficulties and dissatisfaction of the Prince; who was yet covered in it by the private consent of the *Spanish* minister there, in behalf of his master; so as the war could not break but upon *France*, in case of their refusal.

In the mean time, *France* draws out the treaty upon the terms at *London* into length, never raising more than one difficulty at a time, and expostulating the unkindness of breaking for the single town of *Tournay*, though that was indeed more important than any three of the others, being the only strong one to guard that side of the frontier, and giving way for any sudden invasion upon *Ghent*, and *Antwerp*, and the very heart of the country. But, while this game was playing in *England*, they had another on foot in *Holland*, especially at *Amsterdam*, by raising jealousies of the measures taken between the King and Prince upon the marriage, as dangerous to the liberties of *Holland*; and making it there believed, that, by the match, the King and Duke had drawn over the Prince wholly into their interests or sentiments: whereas the Prince went away possessed

possessed to have by it drawn them indeed into his. They proposed to the *Dutch* other terms of peace, far short of the King's, and less safe for *Flanders*, restoring only six towns to the *Spaniards*, and mentioning *Lorrain* but ambiguously; which would not have gone down in *Holland*, but for the suspicions raised by the Prince's marriage among the people there, who had an incurable jealousy of our Court, and thereupon not that confidence of the Prince that he deserved.

There were two ruling Burgomasters at *Amsterdam* at this time, who had the whole sway of that town, (as this has a great one in *Holland*) *Hoest* and *Valkenier*; the first, a generous, honest man; of great patrimonial riches, learning, wit, humour, without ambition, having always refused all employments the State had offered him, and serving only in that of Burgomaster of his town in his turn, and as little busy in it as he could; a true genius, and that said two things to me in conversation I had not heard before: one, that a man, who were to die to-morrow in torment, would yet enjoy to-day, if he were *sain* [sound]; and that it was some disease, or decay of spirits that hindered it: the other, that a man was a *coyon* [a sorry weight] who desired to live after threescore; and that for his part, after that age, which he was then approaching, he should be glad of the first good occasion to die: and this he made good, dying with neglect upon a fit of the gout, talking with his friends till he was just spent, then sending them away that he might not die in their sight; and, when he found himself come a little again, sending for them up, and telling them, *Qu'il y avoit encore pour une demy heure de conversation* [That he had life still for one half hour's conversation.] This was the character of Monsieur *Hoest*, who was a great inclination of mine, though he passed for a humorous man; and told me, I was the only Ambassador he had ever visited in his life. He had all the credit that
could

could be in his town, without seeking, or minding, or using it; whereas *Valkemier* sought and courted it all that could be, without having half the other's, being a morose and formal man, but of great industry, much thought, and, as was believed, avarice, and making the turns easily that were necessary in the government to carry his ends. These two had long been enemies, and thought irreconcilable, till the *French* instruments at this time, with great art and industry, made up the quarrel, and joined them both in the design of making the peace upon the terms offered by *France*.

The Parliament meets in *January* by anticipation of the session, which seemed to import something of great consequence. The King acquaints them with the league he had made in *Holland*, and asks them money upon it for putting himself in a posture to carry on the war if the peace failed; which the Parliament gave him, upon the hopes of the war, and not of the peace. The constitution of this Parliament, that had sat seventeen years, was grown into two known factions, which were called, that of Court and country: the Court-party were grown numerous, by a practice introduced by my Lord *Clifford*, of downright buying off one man after another, as they could make the bargain. The country-party was something greater yet in number, and kept in more credit upon the corruption of others, and their own pretence of steadiness to the true interest of the nation, especially in the points of *France* and popery. Where these came in question, many of the Court-party voted with those of the country, who then carried all before them; but whenever the Court seemed to fall in with the true interests of the nation, especially in those two points, then many of the country-party, meaning fairly, fell in with the Court, and carried the votes; as they now did, upon the King's pre-
tence

tence to grow bold with *France*, and to resolve upon the war if the peace were refused.

In *October*, *Friburg* had been taken by a feint of the Duke of *Crequi*, before the Duke of *Lorraine* could come to relieve it; and in the same month *Stetin* had been taken by the Elector of *Brandenburg*, after a vigorous resistance; which left the scales as even as they were before between the two leagues.

In *January*, upon the delays of *France* to agree to the King's conditions of a peace, his Majesty entered into a negotiation with the Ministers of the confederates at *London*, in case *France* went on to refuse them. But the hopes of a peace were on a sudden dashed by the *French* attempts upon *Ypres*, and threats of *Ostend*, whither the King immediately sends forces over, at the desire of the *Spanish* Ambassador, for security of that important place. Nor did the *French* Ambassador seem to resent at all this pace of his Majesty, but continued his court and treaty with all the fairness that could be.

Towards the end of *February*, the King of *France* marching in the head of his army, and carrying the Queen and Ladies to *Mentz*, seemed to threaten *Luxembourg*, or *Namur*, or *Mons*; but, having drawn the *Spanish* forces that way, on a sudden crosses the country, sits down before *Ghent*, and, by the end of the month, takes both that town and *Ypres*, and thereby gives a mighty alarm to *Holland*, and strengthens the credit and endeavours of those he had already disposed to his terms of a peace, as grown now absolutely necessary; while *England* seemed resolved to go into the war, or at least furnished the confederates with many such hopes. About the 1st of *April*, *France* made a public declaration of the terms upon which they were resolved to make the peace; which, tho' very different from those agreed between his Majesty and *Holland*, and more from the pretensions of the allies, yet having, as to what concerned *Spain* and *Holland*, been first privately

vately agreed with some leaders of the principal towns, proved indeed the plan of the peace both for *Holland*, and all the other confederates engaged in the war. And here the *French* began that imperious way of treating, which they afterwards pursued in the whole negotiation of the ensuing peace; declaring such and such were the conditions they would admit, and no other, and upon which their enemies might choose, either peace or war, as they pleased, and to which *France* pretended not to be tied longer than to the 10th of *May*, after which they would be at liberty to change or restrain them as they should think fit.

About this time, I happened to be with Lord Treasurer one evening in his closet, when a packet came to him from Mr. *Montague* Ambassador at *Paris*, giving him an account of a large conference Monsieur *De Louvois* had with him, by the King his master's order; wherein he represented the measures they had already taken for a peace in *Holland* upon the *French* terms: that, since they were agreed there, they hoped his Majesty would not be against it: that, however, *France* had ordered him to make his Majesty the offer of a great sum of money for his consent, though to a thing already accepted by *Holland*, and wherein his Majesty was consequently not concerned: that Monsieur *De Louvois* desired the Ambassador to write this immediately to Lord Treasurer, and to offer him a very considerable sum for himself, that should be sent over in money, jewels, or by bills, as he should chuse: and Mr. *Montague* added, That it was desired this affair should be treated only between them two, and not communicated to either of the Secretaries of State. My Lord Treasurer read the letter to me; and I said, Well, my Lord, what do you say to the offer? He answered, That he thought it was the same thing, as if it should be made to the King, to have *Windsor* put into the *French* hands, and so he should treat it; and that we had

had nothing to do but to go on with our treaty with the confederates. This his Lordship and I were charged with, and had brought near a conclusion, when his letters came from Mr. *Hide*, with representations made him, from the Pensioner at the *Hague*, of the dispositions in *Holland* running violently into a peace, and the absolute necessity he thought there was of concluding it, upon the taking of *Ghent*, and danger of *Antwerp*, which was then threatened, and the loss whereof would be so fatal to the trade of *Holland*, especially *Amsterdam*. Hereupon Mr. *Godolphin* was dispatched immediately into *Holland*, to bring the last and surest account he could get of the resolutions there upon this affair, and return with the greatest speed he could. He did so, and brought the same account of all dispositions which Mr. *Hide* had given; and, in the process of our treaty with the confederates, Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, when he came to the point, was forced to confess, That he had no powers to conclude, without first communicating to the States, which must draw into length and uncertainty.

About this time, the *French* Ambassador began to change his language, who had ever before pretended, that his Majesty should be always arbiter of the peace; but now assuring that his master had agreed with *Holland*, he seemed to wonder and expostulate, why the King should pretend to obtain better terms for the *Spaniards*, than their allies the *Dutch* were content with.

I was then pressed by the King and Lord Treasurer, to go into *Holland* to know their final resolutions, whether they should yet go on with the war in case his Majesty should go into it? But I excused myself, knowing the *Dutch* were too much pressed, by so near approaches of *France*, to declare themselves upon a reserve of the King's; and said, If his Majesty resolved to go that way, he must first take his measures with the Parliament for the war, and then send them word in *Holland*.

land he was ready to declare it, in case they would pursue it: and, upon this message, I knew the *Dutch* so well, as to believe they would do it, and keep close to their late alliance with his Majesty. This the King was unwilling to do; but posted Mr. *Godolphin* again into *Holland* about the middle of *April*, to know their final resolutions, and prorogued the Parliament for fourteen days.

During these negotiations, and since the money given by the Parliament, and in six weeks time, the King had raised an army of about twenty thousand men, the compleatest, and in all appearance the bravest troops that could be any where seen; and might have raised many more, upon so great a concurrence of the people's humour with his Majesty's seeming design of entering into a war against *France*: and it was confessed by all the foreign ministers, that no King in *Christendom* could have made and compleated such a levy as this appeared in such a time.

My Lord Treasurer, upon the 20th, came to me, and assured me of the King's resolution being at length fixed to go into the war; and desired me to prepare what the King was to say to the Parliament upon this occasion; which I did. When I carried it to my Lord Treasurer, I met there letters from Mr. *Hide* and Mr. *Godolphin*, that *Holland* absolutely desired the peace, even upon the terms proposed by *France*; and had resolved to send Monsieur *Van Lewen* over hither, to dispose the King to be contented with them. He arrived, and the King sent me immediately to him to know his errand. He was the chief of the town of *Leyden*, and had joined with *Amsterdam*, *Haerlem*, *Delft*, and some others, in promoting the peace, even upon the *French* conditions; but being a man of great honour and worth, and having done it upon the suspicion that *England* was still at bottom in with *France*, and that all the rest was but grimace; the Prince had procured him to

be sent over, on purpose to satisfy himself (and thereby his complices for the peace) that the King's intentions were determined to enter into the war, which his Highness thought the only means to prevent the peace.

When I came to Monsieur *Van Lewen*, he told me freely, That it was the most against their hearts in *Holland* that could be, to make a peace upon terms so low and unsafe for *Flanders*; and that, if the King had gone into war, as was promised, upon *France* delaying or refusing to accept his scheme, they would certainly have continued it: but his Majesty's proceedings looked ever since so uncertain or unresolved, that it had raised jealousies in *Holland* of our measures being at bottom fixed and close with *France*; which made most of the towns in *Holland* think they had nothing else left to do, but to go in with them too as fast as they could, and the approach of the *French* army to *Antwerp* left them now no time to deliberate; yet he professed to me in private, that if the King would immediately declare the war, he believed the States would still go on with it, in pursuit of their alliance, and the terms therein contained.

I made this report to the King, who seemed positive to declare the war, in case the Parliament advised him, and promised to support it; when an unlucky peevish vote, moved by Sir T——C—— in spite to my Lord Treasurer, passed the house of Commons, *That no money should be given, till satisfaction was received in matters of religion.* This left all so loose and so lame, that the King was in a rage, reproached me with my popular notions, as he termed them; and asked me when, or how, I thought he could trust the house of Commons to carry him through the war, if he should engage in it? And I had not much indeed to say, considering the temper and factions of the house; nor could I well clear it to myself, by my observation, whether the King was firmly resolved to enter into the war; or, if

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he did, whether the house of Commons would have supported him in it, or turned it only to ruin the Ministers by the King's necessities. 'Tis certain, no vote could ever have passed more unhappily, nor in such a counter-season, nor more cross to the humour of the house, which seemed generally bent upon engaging his Majesty in the war; and the person that moved it was, I believe, himself as much of that mind as any of the rest; but having, since the loss of his employment at Court, ever acted a part of great animosity in opposition to the present ministry, in whose hands soever it was; this private ill humour carried him contrary to his public intentions, as it did many more in the house, who pretended to be very willing to supply the King upon occasion of the war, or even of his debts, but that they would not do it during my Lord Treasurer's ministry. In short, there was such a fatal and mutual distrust both in the Court and Parliament, as it was very hard to fall into any sound measures between them. The King, at last, now saw he had lost his time of entering into the war, if he had a mind to it; and that he ought to have done it (upon my Lord *Duras's* return, and) with the whole confederacy. And my Lord *Essex* told me, I had been a prophet, in refusing to go into *Holland* to make that alliance, which had, as I said, pleased none at home or abroad, and had now lost all our measures in *Holland*, and turned theirs upon *France*.

But the turn that the King gave all this was, that, since the *Dutch* would have a peace upon the *French* terms, and *France* offered money for his consent to what he could not help, he did not know why he should not get the money; and thereupon ordered me to treat upon it with the *French* Ambassador, who had orders to that purpose. I would have excused myself; but he said, I could not help seeing him, for he would be with me at my house by seven next morning: he accordingly

cordingly came, and I told him very truly, I had been ill in the night, and could not enter into business. The Ambassador was much disappointed, and pressed me all he could; but I defended myself upon my illness, till at length he left me without entering upon any thing. When I got up, I went immediately to *Speen*, writ to my Lord Treasurer by my wife, *May* the tenth, 1678, how much I was unsatisfied with being put upon such a treaty with the *French* Ambassador, that belonged not at all to my post, and which they knew I thought dishonourable to the King; and thereupon I offered to resign to his Majesty both my embassy at *Nimeguen*, and promise of Secretary of State's place, to be disposed of by his Majesty as he pleased. My Lord Treasurer sent me word, the King forced no man upon what he had no mind to; but if I resolved this should be said to him, I must do it myself, or by some other, for he would not make my court so ill as to say it for me; and so it rested, and I continued at *Speen*, without stirring till the King sent for me.

In the mean time, from the beginning of *May*, the ill humour of the house of Commons began to break out, by several discourses and votes, against the ministers and their conduct; which increased the ill opinion his Majesty had conceived of their intentions in pressing him to enter upon a war. Yet, notwithstanding all this, he had (as I was told by a good hand) conceived such an indignation at one article of the private treaty proposed by Monsieur *Barillon*, that he said he would never forget it while he lived; and though he said nothing to me of his resentment, yet he seemed at this time more resolved to enter into the war, than I had ever before seen or thought him.

Monsieur *De Ruvigny*, the son, was dispatched into *France* to know the last intentions of that Court upon the terms of the peace proposed by his Majesty, but brought no answer clear or positive; so as his Majesty

Majesty went on to compleat his levies, and to prepare for the war: but, *May* the eleventh, the house of Commons passed another negative upon the debate of money; which so offended the King, that he prorogued them for ten days, believing in that time his intentions to enter into the war would appear so clear as to satisfy the house, and put them in better humour. Monsieur *Van Lewen*, distast'd with these delays, and the counterpases between King and Parliament, begins to discourse boldly of the necessity his matters found to make the peace as they could, since there was no relying upon any measures with *England* for carrying on the war, and the season was too far advanced to admit any longer delays. Upon these discourses from him, his Majesty began to cool his talk of a war, and to say, the peace must be left to the course which *Holland* had given it: and though, upon *May* the twenty-third, the Parliament met, and seemed in much better temper than they parted, yet news coming about the same time that Monsieur *Van Beverning* was sent by the States to the *French* Court at *Ghent*, to propose a cessation of arms for six weeks, in order to negotiate and agree the terms of the peace in that time, the affair began now to be looked upon, both in Court and Parliament, as a thing concluded, or at least as like to receive no other motion than what should be given it by *Holland* and *France*. And indeed, the dispositions were so inclined to it on both sides, that the terms were soon adjusted between them. These articles having been so public, I shall not trouble myself to insert them, but only say, they seemed so hard, both to *Spain*, and to the *Northern* Princes who had made great conquests upon the *Swedes*, that they all declared they would never accept them; and when the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* desired Sir *Lionel Jenkins* to carry them to the confederates, he refused to do it, or to have part in a treaty or conditions of peace, so different from what

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the King his master had proposed and what both his Majesty and *Holland* had obliged themselves to pursue by their late treaty at the *Hague*.

About this time, *France*, by a conduct very surprizing, having sent Monsieur *De la Feuillade* to *Messina*, with a common expectation of re-inforcing the war in *Sicily*, shewed the intention was very different, and of a sudden ordered all their forces to abandon that island, with whom many *Messineses* returned, fearing the vengeance of the *Spaniards*, to whom they were now exposed: and this was the only important service done that Crown by all his Majesty's intentions or preparations to assist them; for no man doubted, that the abandoning of *Sicily* was wholly owing to the apprehensions in *France* of a war with *England*, which they thought would give them but too much occasion for employing of their forces. And indeed the eyes and hopes of all the confederates were now turned so wholly upon *England* for any resource in their affairs, after *Holland* had deserted them, (as they thought) by precipitate terms of a peace, that many of the chief Ministers at *Nimeguen* left that place, as of no more use to the treaty it was designed for, and went into *England*, where they thought the whole scene of that affair then lay; among whom was Count *Antoine* the *Danish* Ambassador, and soon after, Monsieur *Olivecrans* the *Swedish*, with the Elector of *Brandenburg's* Envoy, and several others.

However, the negotiation continued there, between the *French* Ambassadors and Monsieur *Van Beverning*, till he was sent to the *French* camp; where he concluded the terms of the peace towards the end of *June*, and a cessation from all hostilities in *Flanders* for six weeks, which was given to the *Dutch*, to endeavour the *Spaniards* entering into the peace upon the terms they had proposed for them. And, in the whole course of this negotiation, *France* seemed to have no regards, but for *Holland*; and for them so much, that the Most

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Christian King assured the States, that though *Spain* should not agree, yet he had such a care of their satisfaction, that he would always provide such a barrier in *Flanders* should be left, as they thought necessary for their safety; and that after the peace should be made, and the ancient amity restored, he would be ready to enter into such engagements and measures with them, as should for ever secure their repose and their liberty.

This was by all interpreted an invidious word, put in on purpose to cajole the enemies of the Prince, who ever pretended the suspicions of his affecting more authority than they desired; and thereby kept up a popular party in the State, the chief of whom had been the chief promoters of the present peace. And indeed the Prince was not at all reserved in the endeavours of opposing it, but used all that was possible and agreeable to the forms of the State: yet all in vain, the humour having spread so far, at first in *Holland*, and from thence into the other provinces, that it was no longer to be opposed or diverted by the Prince.

In the mean time, *England* was grown pretty indifferent in the matter of the peace, and *Spain* seemed well inclined to accept their part of it: but the Emperor, the King of *Denmark*, and Elector of *Brandenburg* fell into the highest declarations and reproaches against the States, that could be well invented; ripping up all they had ventured and suffered in a war they had begun only for the preservation of *Holland*; how they were now abandoned by them, in pretending to conclude imperious and arbitrary terms of a peace upon them without their consent: that they were willing to treat with *France*, and make a peace upon any safe and reasonable conditions; but would never endure to have them imposed as from a conqueror; and would venture all, rather than accept them, especially those for the Duke of *Lorrain*, whose case was the worst treated, though

though the most favoured in appearance, by all the confederates, and the least contested by *France*.

Notwithstanding all these storms from their allies, the *Dutch* were little moved, and held on their course, having small regard to the satisfaction of any, besides *Spain* in what concerned the safety of *Flanders*; and the necessities of that Crown made them easy, though as little contented as the rest: so as the peace was upon the point of signing by *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors: when an unexpected incident fell in, which had like to have overturned this whole fabric, and to have renewed the war with greater heats, and more equal forces, by engaging *England* to a share of it in favour of the confederates, which they had been long practising without success, and now without hopes.

In the conditions, which *Holland* had made for the *French* restoring the six towns in *Flanders* to *Spain*, there was no particular mention made of the time of that restitution; the *Dutch* understanding, as well as the *Spaniards*, that it was to be upon the ratifications of the peace with *Spain* and *Holland*, whether any of the other allies on each side were included or not. But, when the *Dutch* treaty was near signing, the Marquis *De Balbaces* either found or made some occasion of enquiring more particularly of the *French* intentions upon this point. The *French* Ambassadors made no difficulty of declaring, that the King, their master, being obliged to see an entire restitution made to the *Suedes* of all they had lost in the war, could not evacuate the towns in *Flanders*, till those to the *Suedes* were likewise restored; and that this detention of places was the only means to induce the Princes of the *North* to accept of the peace.

Monsieur *Van Beverning* gave account to his masters of this new pretence, and the States ordered him to let the *French* Ambassadors know, he could not sign the peace without the restitution of the places in *Flanders*.

ders upon the ratification of the treaty. The *French* Ambassadors were firm on the other side, and said, their orders were positive to insist upon the restitution of *Sweden*. The States hereupon sent to Monsieur *Van Lewen*, to acquaint his Majesty with this unexpected incident, and to know his opinion and resolution upon a point of so great moment to the peace of *Christendom* on the one side, and to the safety of *Flanders* on the other. The King was difficult at first to believe it; but sending to the *French* Ambassador at *London* to know the truth of it, and finding him own his master's intention not to evacuate the towns till the general peace was concluded, and *Sweden* satisfied, he was both surpris'd and angry at this proceeding of *France*; and next morning sent for me to the foreign committee, and there declared his resolution of sending me immediately into *Holland*, with commission to sign a treaty with the States, by which they should be oblig'd to carry on the war, and his Majesty to enter into it, in case *France* should not consent, within a certain time limited, to evacuate the towns. The Duke fell into this counsel with great warmth, and said at the committee, That it was plain by this pace, that *France* was not sincere in the business of the peace: that they aimed at the universal monarchy; and that none but his Majesty could hinder them from it, in the posture that *Christendom* stood. All the Lords of the committee agreed, with so general a concurrence, that it was hard to imagine this should not prove a steady resolution, how little soever we had been given to any such. His Majesty took the pains to press *Van Lewen* to go over with me, to persuade the States of the sincerity and constancy of his resolution to pursue this measure with the utmost of his power; and took upon himself to excuse to the States, his masters, the making this journey without their consent.

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Upon this dispatch, Mr. *Godolphin*, who had been so lately in *Holland*, told me, that, if I brought the States to the treaty his Majesty proposed upon this occasion, he would move the Parliament to have my statue set up; the success whereof may deserve a further remark in its due place.

Monfieur *Van Lewen* and I went over in July 1678, in two several yachts; but met soon at the *Hague*, where, upon my first conference with the Commissioners of secret affairs, one of them made me the handsomest Dutch compliment I had met with, *That they esteemed my coming into Holland, like that of the swallow, which brought fair weather always with it.*

The Prince received me with the greatest joy in the world; hoping by my errand, and the success of it, either to continue the war, or recover such conditions of peace for his allies, as had been wrested out of his hands by force of a faction begun at *Amsterdam*, and spread since into the rest of the provinces.

To make way for this negotiation, I concerted with Monfieur *Van Lewen* to dine at his country-house, with Monfieur *Hoeft* of *Amsterdam*, *Van Tielt* of *Haerlem*, *Patz* of *Rotterdam*, and two or three more of the chief Burgomasters who had promoted the peace, or rather precipitated it, upon the *French* conditions. After dinner, we entered into long conferences, in which Monfieur *Van Lewen* assured them with great confidence of the King's sincerity in the resolutions he had taken, and seconded very effectually all I had to say upon that subject; which had the more credit from one who had gone as far as any of them in pursuit and acceptance of the peace.

The Prince was impatient to know what had passed in this meeting, which made me go to him that evening; and I told him, that I was very confident to have found, that Monfieur *Patz* was incurable, and not otherwise to be dealt with; but that all the rest were good

good and well-meaning persons to their country, abused first by jealousies of his Highness's match in *England*, by apprehensions of our Court being wholly in the measures of *France*, and by the plausible offers of *France* towards such a peace as they could desire for themselves: that they were something enlightened by the late refusal of delivering up the *Spanish* towns till the satisfaction of *Sweden*; and would, I doubted not, awaken their several towns, so as to make them receive favourably his Majesty's proposition upon this conjuncture. It happened accordingly; for Monsieur *Hoefst* proposing at *Amsterdam* to make a trial and judgment of the sincerity of *France* upon the whole proceeding of the peace, by their evacuating the *Spanish* towns, and without it to continue the war, he carried his point there, in spite of *Valkenier*; and the same followed in all the rest of the towns: so that, when I fell into this negotiation, I concluded the treaty in six days; by which *France* was obliged to declare within fourteen after the date thereof, that they would evacuate the *Spanish* towns; or, in case of their refusal, *Holland* was engaged to go on with the war, and *England* immediately to declare it against *France*, in conjunction with *Holland* and the rest of the confederates.

It is hardly to be imagined what a new life this gave to the authority and fortunes of the Prince of *Orange*, who was now owned by the States to have made a truer judgment, than they had done, of the measures they were to expect both from *France* and *England*; the last having proceeded so resolutely to the offers of entering into the war (which was never believed in *Holland*) and *France*, after raising so important a difficulty in the peace, having proceeded in the war so far as to block up *Mons*, one of the best frontiers remaining to *Flanders*; which was expected to fall into their hands, before

before the term fixed for the conclusion or rupture of the peace should expire.

Preparations were made with the greatest vigour imaginable for his Highness's expedition to relieve *Mons*; and about ten thousand *English*, already arrived in *Flanders*, were ordered to march that way and join the Prince. He went into the field, with a firm belief that the war would certainly go on, since *France* seemed too far engaged in honour to yield the evacuation of the towns; and though they should, yet *Spain* could not be ready to agree and sign the peace within the term limited: and he thought that he left the States resolved not to conclude otherwise than in conjunction with that Crown: and besides, he hoped to engage the *French* army before the term for signing the peace should expire; and resolved to relieve *Mons*, or die in the attempt, whether the peace succeeded or not; so as the continuance of the war seemed inevitable. But no man, since *Solomon*, ever enough considered how subject all things are to time and chance, nor how poor diviners the wisest men are of future events, how plainly soever all things may seem laid towards the producing them; nor upon how small accidents the greatest counsels and revolutions turn, which was never more proved than by the course and event of this affair.

After the treaty concluded and signified to *France*, all the arts, that could be, were on that side employed to elude it, by drawing this matter into treaty, or into greater length, which had succeeded so well in *England*. They offered to treat upon it at *St. Quintin*, then at *Ghent*, where the King himself would meet such ambassadors as the *Dutch* should send to either of those towns. But the States were firm not to recede from their late treaty concluded with his Majesty, and so continued till about five days before the term was to expire. Then arrived from *England* one *De Crofs*, formerly

formerly a *French* Monk, who sometime since had left his frock for a petticoat, and insinuated himself so far in the *Swedish* Court, as to procure a commission (or credence at least) for a certain petty agency in *England*. At *London* he had devoted himself wholly to Monsieur *Barillon* the *French* Ambassador, though pretending to pursue the interests of *Sweden*. About a week after I had sent a secretary into *England* with the treaty signed, this man brought me a packet from Court, commanding me to go immediately away to *Nimeguen*; and there to endeavour all I could (and from his Majesty) to persuade the *Swedish* Ambassadors to let the *French* there know, that they would, for the good of *Christendom*, consent, and even desire the King of *France*, no longer to defer the evacuation of the towns, and consequently the peace, upon the sole regard and interest of the Crown of *Sweden*. I was likewise commanded to assure the said Ambassadors, that, after this peace, his Majesty would use all the most effectual endeavours he could, for restitution of the towns and countries the *Swedes* had lost in the war.

It was not easy for any man to be more surpris'd than I was by this dispatch; but the Pensioner *Fagel* was stunn'd, who came and told me the whole contents of it, before I had mentioned it to any man; and, that *De Crofs* had gone about most industriously to the deputies of the several towns, and acquainted them with it; and, that the terms of peace were absolutely consented and agreed between the two Kings; that he had brought me orders to go streight to *Nimeguen*; and, that I should, at my arrival there, meet with letters from my Lord *Sunderland*, the King's Ambassador at *Paris*, with all the particulars concluded between them.

How this dispatch by *De Crofs* was gained, or by whom, I will not pretend to determine: but, upon my

my next return for *England*, the Duke told me, that he knew nothing of it till it was gone, having been a hunting that morning. My Lord Treasurer said all that could be to excuse himself of it; and I never talked of it to Secretary *Williamson*; but the King indeed told me pleasantly, *That the rogue De Crofs had outwitted them all.* The account I met with at Court was, that these orders were agreed and dispatched one morning in an hour's time, and in the Duchess of *Portsmouth's* chamber, by the intervention and pursuit of Monsieur *Barillon*. However it was, and what endeavours soever were made immediately after, at our court, to retrieve this game, it never could be done; and this one incident changed the whole fate of *Cbri-stendom*; and with so little seeming ground for any such counsel, that, before *De Crofs's* arrival at the *Hague*, the *Swedish* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* had made the very same declaration and instances to the *French* Ambassadors there, that I was posted away from the *Hague* upon the pretence of persuading them to resolve on.

When I arrived at *Nimeguen*, there remained but three days of the term fixed by the late treaty between his Majesty and the States, at the *Hague*, either for the *French* assent to the evacuation of the towns, or for the carrying on of the war in conjunction of *England* with *Holland*, and consequently the rest of the confederates. I found all men there persuaded, that the peace would not succeed; and indeed all appearances were against it. The *French* Ambassadors had given many reasons, in a formal sort of *manifesto*, to the *Dutch*, why the King, their master, could not consent to it, without the previous satisfaction of *Sweden*, whose interests he esteemed the same with his own; but yet declaring he was unwilling to receive any expedients, the States should offer in this matter, either by their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, or such as they should send to his Most Christian Majesty at *St. Quintin*, or *Ghent*. The *Dutch* gave them an answer in writing, declaring,

it was a matter no longer entire, since, upon the difficulty raised about the evacuation of the towns, the States, their masters, had been induced to sign a treaty with *England*; from which they could not recede, nor from the day therein fixed for determining the fate of either peace or war; and as there was no time, so there could be no use of any deputation to *St. Quintin*, or *Ghent*, nor any other expedient, besides the assent of *France* to evacuate the towns. After this, the *French* Ambassador had declared to the *Dutch*, that they had found the King their master was resolved, at the desire of the *Swedes*, to retard the peace no longer upon their consideration; and would consent to evacuate the towns, upon condition the States would send their Deputies to treat upon the ways of securing the future satisfaction to *Sweden*, which was by both intended. But the *Dutch* Ambassadors continued peremptory, that there could be no deputation made by their masters; and, that if the term fixed by the late treaty with *England* should elapse, there was no remedy but the war must go on. To this the *French* Ambassadors replying, that their hands were bound up from proceeding further without such a deputation, the peace was thereupon esteemed desperate; and the more so, because at the same time, the Duke of *Luxemburg* pressed *Mons*, and the Marshal *De Schomberg* seemed to threaten *Cologne*, demanding of them immediate satisfaction of the money that had been seized during the assembly there; and *Brussels* itself grew unquiet, upon their finding themselves almost surrounded by *French* troops; so as the confederate ministers thought themselves secure of what they had so much and so long desired and aimed at, which was a long war in conjunction with *England*: for they neither believed *France* would yield a point they had so long and so publicly contested; nor (if they did) that the *Dutch* would suffer their Ambassadors to sign the peace without *Spain*;
and

and the time was now too near expiring for agreeing the terms and draught of a treaty between the two Crowns, which had not yet been in any kind digested.

In the midst of these appearances and dispositions at *Nimeguen*, came the fatal day, agreed by the late treaty at the *Hague*, for determining whether a sudden peace; or a long war, were to be reckoned upon in *Christendom*; when, in the morning early, Monsieur *Boreel*, who had been sent from *Amsterdam* to the *Dutch* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, went to the *French* Ambassadors; and, after some conference with them, these three Ambassadors went immediately to those of *Holland*, and declared to them, they had received orders to consent to the evacuation of the towns, and thereupon to sign the peace, but that it must be done that very morning. Whether the *Dutch* were surprised or not, they seemed to be so; and, entering into debate upon several of the articles, as well as upon the interests of *Spain*, this conference lasted near five hours: but ended in agreement upon all the points, both of peace and commerce, between *France* and *Holland*, and orders for writing all fair with the greatest haste that was possible, so as the treaty might be signed that night.

About four in the afternoon, the *French* Ambassadors, having demanded an hour of me and Sir *Lionel*, came to us at my house, gave us an account of their agreement with the *Dutch* Ambassadors upon all points in difference between them, and of the treaty's being so ordered, as that it should be signed that evening; and made us the offer that they would all come, and sign it at my house, that so we might have the part in it that was due to the Mediators.

We answered them, that, having been sent by his Majesty with instructions only to mediate a general peace, we could not by our orders assist at the signing of a particular one; and therefore desired them to excuse us from having any part in this conclusion between them

them and the *Dutch*, either by the signing it at our houses, or by using our names as Mediators in the treaty.

The *Dutch* Ambassadors came to us likewise with the same communication and offer, and received the same answer; and I observed their conversation, upon the mighty and sudden turn, to be a good deal embarrassed; and something irresolute, and not very well agreed between the two Ambassadors themselves. Monsieur *Van Beverning* complained of the uncertainty of our conduct in *England*, and the incurable jealousies that *De Crofs's* journey had raised in *Holland*: that, since the King still desired the peace, his masters had nothing to do but to conclude it; and that they, the Ambassadors, took themselves to be so instructed, as that they must sign the peace upon the offers made by the *French* to evacuate the towns. Monsieur *Van Haren* did not seem to me so clear in point of their orders; and I never could learn whether, upon *De Crofs's* arrival and discourses at the *Hague*, the States-Deputies there had sent orders to their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* to sign the peace (even without the *Spaniards*) in case of the *French* assenting to the evacuation of the towns before the day appointed for that purpose should expire; or whether only the town of *Amsterdam* had by *Boreel* sent that advice to Monsieur *Van Beverning*, with assurances to bear him out in what he did, where his orders might receive a doubtful sense or interpretation. However it were, Monsieur *Van Beverning* was bent upon giving this sudden end of the war, and such a quick dispatch to the draught of the treaty, that it was agreed in all articles, and written out fair, so as to be signed between eleven and twelve at night. And thus were eluded all the effects of the late treaty concluded at the *Hague*, and the hopes conceived by the confederates of the war's going on; which so provoked several of their Ministers, as to engage them in sharp

and violent protestations against the *Dutch* Ambassadors, by which they hoped to deter them from signing the peace without new orders from their masters. But all was to no purpose, *Van Beverning* was unmoved, and the thing was done.

The day after the peace was signed, came an express to me from Court, with the ratifications of the late treaty between his Majesty and the States, and orders to me immediately to proceed to the exchange of them: which was such a counterpace to the dispatch I had received by *De Crofs*, and to the consequences of it, which had ended in the conclusion of the peace, and thereby rendered the late treaty of no further use, that the ratification seemed now as unnecessary, as it had been at first unresolved at our Court, and unexpected from us by the *Dutch*. However, I went away immediately upon this express; and, next day after my arrival at the *Hague*, made an exchange of the ratifications according to the orders I received.

I found the Pensioner and several other of the Deputies very much unsatisfied with the peace, and more with the precipitation of Monsieur *Van Beverning* to sign it upon the sudden offer of the *French* Ambassadors to evacuate the towns, and before he had acquainted the States with it, and received new orders upon it. They said his instructions could not warrant him; they talked of calling him in question for it, and of disavowing what he had done, and thereupon of having recourse to the treaty with his Majesty, (which they now saw ratified) and of continuing the war in conjunction with *England*; and the rather, because they saw *France* had no mind to venture it, but had chosen to stoop from those high flights they had so long made in all transactions with their neighbours either of war or peace. But others of the Deputies, especially those of *Amsterdam*, declared their satisfaction in this conclusion at *Nimeguen*, argued, that the weakness

weakness of their confederates, especially *Spain*, and the unsteadiness or irresolution of *England*, had made the peace of absolute necessity to *Holland*; and excused any precipitation of their Ambassadors in signing that day, or without clear and positive orders, upon the emergency being so sudden and surprising, and the time so critical, that the delay of sending to the *Hague* must of necessity have engaged the States in their obligations of the late treaty with *England*, and thereby in a necessity of continuing the war.

The truth is, I never observed, either in what I had seen or read, any negotiation managed with greater address and skill, than this had been by the *French* in the whole course of the affair; especially since the Prince of *Orange's* match, which was thought to have given them so great a blow, and by force of conduct was turned so much to their advantage. 'Tis certain and plain, they never intended to continue the war, if *England* should fall with such weight into the scale of the confederates, as the force of that kingdom and humour of the people would have given to such a conjunction; and consequently, that his Majesty might have prescribed what terms he pleased of the peace, during the whole course of his mediation: for besides the respect which the *French* have for our troops, both horse and foot, more than any others, especially since the services and advantages they received from them in all their actions against the *Germans*; besides the terror of a conjunction between our naval forces and the *Dutch*, and of descents upon their coasts, with the dangerous influences that might make upon the discontents of their people; they wisely foresaw another consequence of our falling into this confederacy, which most unavoidably have proved more mortal to them than all the rest, in two years time. For whereas the wealth of *France*, which makes their greatness, arises from the infinite consumption made, by so many neighbouring

neighbouring countries, of so many and rich commodities as the native soil and climate, or ingenuity of the people produce in *France*; in case this war had gone on, with *England* engaged in it, all these veins of such infinite treasure had been stoped at once, or at least left open only to some parts of *Italy*, which neither takes off their wines, their salts, nor their modes in habit or equipage, that draw so vast expences upon all the provinces almost of *Europe* which lie northward of *France*, and drain such vast sums of money from all their neighbours, into that fruitful and noble kingdom, more favoured by nature in my opinion, than any other in the world: but the loss of this advantage, upon the necessity, folly, or luxury of others, must, in two or three years time, reduce them to such weakness in those sinews of war, by so general a poverty and misery among their people, that there would need no other effect of such a general confederacy, to consume the strength and force of that nation. This they very prudently foresaw, and never intended to venture; but, having reason to apprehend it from the Prince of *Orange*'s match in *England*, they took it without resentment; nay, improved it rather into new kindness than quarrel, making use of the King's good nature to engage him in a prorogation of the Parliament immediately after; which made it appear, both at home and abroad, that they had still the ascendant upon our Court. They eluded the effects of the message sent them by my Lord *Duras*, with his Majesty's scheme of the peace; by drawing it out into expostulations of kindness, and so into treaty. During this amusement of our Court, they plied their business in *Holland*; yet, with greater art and industry, poisoned the people there with jealousies of the Prince's match in *England*, and of designs from both upon their liberties, by a long and unnecessary continuance of the war. They united the factions in *Amsterdam* upon the scent of a peace, and upon their own conditions,

conditions, to avoid those that had been proposed by his Majesty. When they had gained their point with the several Deputies in *Holland*, they acquainted the King with their being sure of the peace on that side; and, by his Ambassador at *Paris*, made offers of mighty sums, both to himself and his chief Minister, only for their consent to such a peace as *Holland* itself was content with. When the States had absolutely resolved on the peace, by the particular faction of *Amsterdam*, and general terror upon the *French* taking of *Ghent* and threatening *Antwerp*, they esteemed the humour in *Holland* so violent towards the peace, and so unsatisfied with the fluctuation of our counsels in *England*, that they thought they might be bold with them upon the interests of *Spain*, and so raised the pretence of not evacuating the towns before the satisfaction of *Sweden*. And though I know this was by the politicians esteemed a wrong pace of *France*; yet I did not think it so, but that all appearances were for their succeeding in it. Nor had they reason to believe either our Court or *Holland* would have resented it to that degree they did; or that they could have fallen into such close and sudden measures, and with such confidence, as they happened to do upon this occasion by the treaty of *July* at the *Hague*. When this was concluded, they made all the offers that could be at breaking the force of it; by drawing it into negotiation, and by condescensions to the States unusual with that Crown even to the greatest Kings. They poisoned it by the dispatch of *De Cross*, and by his instructions, as well as artifices and industry, to make the contents of it public at the *Hague*; which were pretended at Court to be sent over to me with the greatest secrecy that could be. At the same time they made all the declarations of not receding from the difficulties they had raised, otherwise than by treaty; and thereby laid asleep all jealousies of the confederates, as well as endeavours

deavours to prevent a blow, they did not believe could arrive, where the honour of *France* seemed so far engaged: and thus they continued till the very day limited for their final declaration. The secret was so well kept, that none had the least umbrage of it that very morning. When they declared it, they left not the *Dutch* Ambassadors time enough to send to their masters; fearing, if they had, the States would have refused to sign without *Spain*, which could not be ready before the time must have elapsed for incurring the effects of the late treaty.

Thus the peace was gained with *Holland*. His Majesty was excluded from any fair pretence of entering into the war, after the vast expence of raising a great army, and transporting them into *Flanders*, and after a great expectation of his people raised, and, as they thought, deluded. *Spain* was necessitated to accept the terms that the *Dutch* had negotiated for them; and this left the peace of the empire wholly at the mercy and discretion of *France*, and the restitution of *Lorrain* (which all had consented in) wholly abandoned and unprovided. So that I must again conclude the conduct of *France* to have been admirable in the whole course of this affair, and the *Italian* proverb to continue true, *Che gli pazzi Francesi sono morti* [*The French fools are dead.*] On the contrary, our counsels and conduct were like those of a floating island, driven one way or t'other, according to the winds or tides. The King's disposition inclined him to preserve his measures with *France*, and consequently to promote a peace which might break the present confederacy: the humour of his people and Parliament was violent towards engaging him in a war: the ministers were wavering between the fears of making their court ill, or of drawing upon them the heats of a house of Commons, whom the King's expences made him always in need of. From these humours arose those uncertain-

ties in our counsels, that no man, who was not behind the curtain, could tell what to make of, and which appeared to others much more mysterious than indeed they were; till a new and formidable engine, beginning to appear upon the stage, made the Court fall into an absolute resolution of entering into the war just when it was too late; and to post away the ratifications of the treaty of *July*, so as to arrive the day after the *French* and *Dutch* had signed the peace, and after the King had given the States occasion to believe he did not intend to ratify it, but that he had taken his measures with *France*; for so all men in *Holland* concluded from *De Croß's* journey, and the commands he brought me for mine to *Nimeguen*, at a time when my presence at the *Hague* was thought the most necessary, both to ratify the treaty, if it had been intended, and to keep the States firm to their resolutions upon it.

Thus ended in smoke the whole negotiation, which was near raising so great a fire. *France*, having made the peace with *Holland*, treated all the rest of it with ease and leisure, as playing a sure game. *England*, to avoid a cruel convulsion that threatened them at home, would fain have gone into the war, if *Holland* would have been prevailed with; but they could not trust us enough, to lose the present interest of trade, for the uncertain events of a war wherein they thought their neighbours more concerned than themselves.

About two or three days after my return to the *Hague*, and exchanging the ratifications, came the news of the battle of *Mons*, between the Prince of *Orange* and the *French*, under the command of the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who had posted himself with the strength and flower of the *French* forces, so as to prevent the Prince's design of relieving *Mons*. And I remember, the day the *Dutch* peace was signed at *Nimeguen*, I was saying to the Marshal *D'Estrades*, That, for aught

I knew, we might have a peace signed, and a battle fought, both in one day. He replied, There was no fear of it; for the Duke of *Luxemburg* had writ him word, he was so posted, that if he had but ten thousand men, and the Prince forty, yet he was sure he would not be forced; whereas he took his army to be stronger than that of the Prince. I need not relate an action so well known in the world, and so shall only say, that in spite of so many disadvantages from an army drawn so suddenly together, so hasty a march as that of the *Dutch*, and posts taken with so much skill, and fortified with so much industry by the *French*, as was believed, the Prince upon the fourteenth of *August* attacked them with a resolution and vigour that at first surpris'd them, and, after an obstinate and bloody fight, so disordered them, that though the night prevented the end of the action, yet it was generally concluded, that, if he had been at liberty next day to pursue it with seven or eight thousand *English* that were ready to join his army, he must in all appearance not only have relieved *Mons*, but made such an impression into *France* as had been often designed, but never attempted since the war began; and upon which a *French* officer present in it said, *That he esteemed this the only heroic action that had been done in the whole course or progress of it.*

But, the morning after the battle, the Prince received from the States advice of the peace having been signed at *Nimeguen*, and thereupon immediately sent a Deputy with the news of it to Monsieur *De Luxemburg*. After compliments pass'd on both sides, the Duke desired to see the Prince; which was agreed to, and they met in the field, at the head of their chief officers, where all pass'd with the civilities that became the occasion, and with great curiosity of the *French*, to see and crowd about a young Prince, who had made so much noise in the world, and had, the day before,

given

given life and vigour to such a desperate action, as all men esteemed this battle of *St. Dennis*. Yet many reflexions were made upon it by the Prince's friends, as well as his enemies: some said that he knew the peace was signed before the fight began, and that it was too great a venture both to himself and the States, and too great a sacrifice to his own honour, since it could be to no other advantage: others laid it to the Marquis *De Grana*; who, they said, had intercepted and concealed the States packet to the Prince, which came into the camp the day before the battle, (but after it was resolved on,) and that he had hopes by such a breach of the peace, even after it was signed, that the progress of it would have been defeated. Whether this were true, or not, I could never certainly be informed; but so much is, that the Prince could not have ended the war with greater glory; nor with greater spite, to see such a mighty occasion wrested out of his hands, by the sudden and unexpected signing of the peace, which he had assured himself the States would not have consented to without the *Spaniards*. Yet, upon the certain news of it, he drew back his army, returned to the *Hague*, and left the States to pursue their own paces, in order to finishing the treaty between *France* and *Spain*; wherein the *Dutch Ambassadors* at *Nimeguen* employed themselves with great zeal and diligence, and no longer as parties or confederates, but as Mediators; whilst Sir *Lionel*, who continued still there in that figure, declined the function, as in a matter wherein he found our Court would not take any part, nor allow themselves to have had any in the peace between *France* and *Holland*.

Soon after the Prince's return, he went to *Dieren* to hunt in the *Veluwe*, like a person that had little else to do: and, I having occasion to go at the same time to *Amsterdam*, he desired me to remember him kindly to Monsieur *Hoest*, the chief Burgomaster there, and

tell him, that he desired him to be no longer in his interests than he should find his Highness in the true interests of the State. I did so; and Monsieur *Hoeft* very frankly and generously bid me tell the Prince, he would be just what his Highness desired, and be ever firm to his interests, while he was in those of his country; but, if ever his Highness departed from them, he would be the first man to oppose him; till then, he would neither censure nor distrust his conduct; for he knew very well, without mutual trust between the Prince and the States, his country must be ruined. From this time to that of his death, Monsieur *Hoeft* continued in the same mind, and by his example that great and jealous town began to fall into much more confidence, not only of the Prince, but of his whole conduct in the administration of the affairs of the State.

From the time I staid at *Amsterdam*, I was every day in conversation with Monsieur *Hoeft*, who, besides much learning, worth, sincereness, and credit in his town, was a man of a pleasant natural humour; which makes, in my opinion, the most agreeable conversation of all other ingredients, and much more than any of those squeezed or forced strains of wit that are in some places so much in request; though, I think, commonly the men, that affect them, are themselves much fonder of them than any of the company.

Dining one day at Monsieur *Hoeft's*, and having a great cold, I observed, every time I spit, a tight handsome wench, (that stood in the room with a clean cloth in her hand) was presently down to wipe it up, and rub the board clean: somebody at table speaking of my cold, I said, the most trouble it gave me was to see the poor wench take so much pains about it: Monsieur *Hoeft* told me, 'Twas well I escaped so; and, that if his wife had been at home, though I were an Ambassador, she would have turned me out of doors for

for fouling her house: and, laughing at that humour, said, there were two rooms of his house that he never durst come into, and believed they were never open but twice a-year, to make them clean. I said, I found he was a good patriot; and not only in the interests of his country, but in the customs of his town, where that of the wife's governing was, I heard, a thing established. He replied, 'Twas true, and that all a man could hope for there, was to have *une douce patronne* [*An easy governess*] and that his wife was so. Another of the Magistrates at table, who was a graver man, said Monsieur *Hoest* was pleasant, but the thing was no more so in their town, than in any other place that he knew of. *Hoest* replied very briskly, it was so, and could not be otherwise, for it had long been the custom; and whoever offered to break it would have landed against him, not only all the women in the town, but all those men too that were governed by their wives, which would make too great a party to be opposed. In the afternoon, upon a visit, and occasion of what had been said at Monsieur *Hoest's*, many stories were told of the strange and curious cleanliness so general in that city; and some so extravagant that my sister took them for jest; when the Secretary of *Amsterdam*, that was of the company, desiring her to look out of the window, said, why, Madam, there is the house where one of our Magistrates going to visit the mistress of it, and knocking at the door, a strapping *North-Holland* lass came and opened it; he asked, whether her mistress was at home? she said, yes; and with that he offered to go in; but the wench, marking his shoes were not very clean, took him by both arms, threw him upon her back, carried him cross two rooms, set him down at the bottom of the stairs, pulled off his shoes, put him on a pair of slippers that stood there, and all this without saying a word;

word; but, when she had done, told him, he might go up to her mistress, who was in her chamber.

I was very glad to have a little diverted, with such pleasantries as these, the thoughts of that busy scene, in which I was so deeply engaged, that I will confess the very remembrance of it, and all the strange surprising turns of it, begin to renew those cruel motions they had raised both in my head and heart, whilst I had so great and so sensible a part in them. But to return where I left the thread of these affairs.

After the peace of *Holland* and *France*, the Ministers of the confederates, especially those of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*, employed their last efforts to prevent the *Spaniards* agreeing to their part of the peace, as accepted for them by the *Dutch*. They exclaimed at their breach of honour and interest: that what was left the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, by those terms, was indefensible, and could serve but to exhaust their men and treasures to no purpose: that the design of *France* was only to break this present confederacy by these separate treaties, and so leave the *Spaniards* abandoned by their allies upon the next invasion; which they would have reason to expect, if *Spain* should use them with as little regard of their honour and treaties, as the *Dutch* Ambassadors seemed to design. These themselves also met with some difficulties in their mediation, by a pretension raised in *France* upon the county of *Beaumont* and town of *Bovignes*, which they did not find to have been mentioned in what had passed between the *French* and *Dutch*, upon the score of *Spain*, before the peace was signed.

All these circumstances began to make it look uncertain what would at length be determined by the States, as to their ratifications, which were like to be delayed till *Spain* had concluded their treaty, though those of *France* had been dispatched so as to arrive at *Nimeguen* the twenty-second of this month; and Monsieur

D'Avaux

D'Avaux commanded from thence to the *Hague*, in quality of Ambassador extraordinary to the States; and the *French* army had retired into *France* at the same time the *Dutch* returned from before *Mons*. So that all seemed, on the *French* side, resolved to pursue the peace; on the side of the empire, and Princes of the *North*, to carry on the war; on the *Spaniards* very irresolute, whether to accept the peace the *Dutch* had mediated for them, or not: and in *Holland*, 'twas doubtful, whether to ratify that their Ambassadors had signed, and whether at least before the treaty of *Spain* should be agreed.

Whilst the minds of men were busied with different reasonings and presages, as well as wishes, upon this conjuncture; about the end of *August* Mr. *Hide* arrived at the *Hague* from *England*, without the least intimation given me of his journey, or his errand; so that I was surpris'd, both to see him, and to hear the design of such a sudden dispatch.

The substance of it was, to acquaint the States how much the King had been surpris'd at the news of their Ambassadors having signed a particular treaty with *France*; even without the inclusion of *Spain*, and without any guaranty given for the evacuation of the towns within the time requisite: to complain of this precipitation of the States; and at the same time of the new pretensions that *France* had advanced upon the county of *Beaumont* and the town of *Bovignes*, which had retarded the peace of *Spain*, and hindered it from being concluded at the same time with that of *Holland*; which his Majesty understood always to have been the intention of the States, as well as his own. That for these reasons he understood, and believed, that the late treaty of *July*, between his Majesty and the States, ought to take effect; the case being fallen out against which that was provided, and both parties being thereby obliged to enter jointly into the war against *France*: that, if
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the States would hereupon refuse to ratify the treaty their Ministers had signed at *Nimeguen*, his Majesty offered to declare war immediately against *France*, and carry it in all points according to the articles and obligations of the said treaty with the States.

Though Mr. *Hide* did not know, or did not tell me, the true spring of this resolute pace that was made by our Court, so different from all the rest in the whole course of this affair, yet he assured me they were both in earnest, and very warm upon the scent, and desired nothing so much as to enter immediately and vigorously into the war, in case *Holland* would be persuaded to continue it; and that no time nor endeavours were to be neglected in pursuing the commission he brought over, which was given jointly to us both, and recommended to me particularly from Court, with all the instances and earnestness that could be. When I carried him that very evening to the Prince at *Honslaerdick*, and he acquainted his Highness with the whole extant of his errand and instructions; the Prince received it very coldly, and only advised him to give in a memorial to the States, and ask Commissioners to treat, by whom he would find what the minds of the States was like to be upon this affair, and at which he would at present make no conjecture.

After a short audience, Mr. *Hide* went to the Princess, and left me alone with the Prince; who, as soon as he was gone, lift up his hands two or three times, and said, Was ever any thing so hot, and so cold, as this Court of yours? Will the King, that is so often at sea, never learn a word that I shall never forget since my last passage, when, in a great storm, the Captain was all night crying out to the man at the helm, Steady, steady, steady? If this dispatch had come twenty days ago, it had changed the face of affairs in *Christendom*; and the war might have been carried on, till *France* had yielded to the treaty of the *Pyrenees*, and left

left the world in quiet for the rest of our lives: as it comes now, it will have no effect at all. At least, this is my opinion, though I would not say so to Mr. Hide.

After this, he asked me, what I could imagine was at the bottom of this new heat in our Court; and what could make it break out so *mal à propos* [*unseasonably*], after the dissatisfaction they had expressed upon the late treaty when it was first sent over, and the dispatch of *De Crofs*, so contrary to the design of it. I told him very truly, that I was perfectly ignorant of the whole matter, and could give no guess at the motions of it: and so I continued till some months after, when I was advised, that the business of the plot, which has since made so much noise in the world, was just then breaking out; and that the Court, to avoid the consequences *that* might have upon the ill humour of the Parliament, which seemed to rise chiefly from the peace, his Majesty resolved to give them the satisfaction they had so long desired, of entering into the war: which is all the account I can give of this counsel or resolution.

The event proved answerable to the judgment the Prince at first made of it; for though the States Deputies drew the matter into several debates and conferences with us, which filled all parties concerned in the war with different apprehensions, and served to facilitate the treaty between *France* and *Spain*; yet the Pensioner told me from the first, this was all the use that could be made of it, and that the States were so unsatisfied with our whole conduct in the business of the peace, that though they would be glad to see us in the war, yet they were resolved to have no further part in it, unless *France* should refuse what they had already promised to *Spain*. However, while this affair continued in agitation during Mr. Hide's stay at the *Hague*, all appearances looked very different from the opinion of the

the Prince and Pensioner, who alone had so full a grasp of the business in *Holland*, as to make a true judgment what the general sentiments there would determine in. Many of the deputies were so ill satisfied with their Ambassador's having signed the peace, that they inclined to his Majesty's proposals, and framed several articles against Monsieur *Van Beverning's* proceedings, whereof some laid mistakes to his charge; others, the omission of matters absolutely necessary in the treaty; and others more directly, his having gone beyond his orders and instructions, particularly, in having stipulated, that the States should give their guaranty for the neutrality of *Spain*. And, in this point, I doubt he had nothing to shew from his masters to cover him. The rest seemed rather to be raised invidiously at his conduct, in having suddenly concluded an affair, which they now saw might have had another issue if he had given it more breath; though, at that time, many of his accusers expected as little from *England* as he did, and with reason alike, since none of them could imagine any thing of that new spring there, from which this violent motion had begun. Whatever Monsieur *Van Beverning's* orders or his proceedings had been, the heats were so high against him at the *Hague*, that many talked, not only of disavowing what he had done, but of forming a process against him upon it: and, though in a short stay he made there upon this occasion, he had the fortune or the justice to see his enemies grow calm towards him; yet he was not a little mortified with so ill payment of what he thought had been so good service to his country; and, after his return to *Nimeguen*, was observed to proceed in the negotiations there, with more phlegm and caution than was natural to his temper; and less show of partiality to the peace, than he had made in the whole course of the treaty.

All the while these matters were in motion at the *Hague*, the King's forces were every day transported into

into *Flanders*, as if the war were to be carried on with the greatest certainty and vigour. Which gave opinion and heart to those in *Holland* that disliked the peace. It raised also great confidence in the *Spaniards*, that they fell into all the measures they could with the confederate Ministers at *Nimeguen*, to form difficulties and delays in the treaty there, between that Crown and *France*; upon the security that *Holland* would not ratify theirs, till that of *Spain* were concluded; and that in the mean time they might be drawn into the war, by the violent dispositions which now appeared in *England*, as well as in the confederates, to continue it. The *Spanish* Ambassadors laid hold of all occasions to except against the matter or style of those articles which *Holland* had mediated between them and *France*; they found difficulties upon the conditions wherein the several towns to be evacuated should be restored to them, as to the fortifications that had been made in them by the *French*, and as to the artillery and munitions that were in them at the time when the *Dutch* had agreed upon those conditions; they found matter of dispute upon the territories that belonged to the several towns, and especially upon the *Cbâtelanie* of *Aeth*, which *France* had dismembered since it was in their possession, and had joined above threescore villages to the *Cbâtelanie* of *Tournay*, which had belonged to *Aeth*, and were with that town transferred by the *Spaniards* to the *French*, upon the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*: but the *French* pretending now to restore it, only in the condition they had left it, and not what they found it, the *Spaniards* made a mighty clamour both at *London* and the *Hague* upon this subject, and complained of this, among other smaller matters, as innovations endeavoured to be introduced by *France*, even beyond what they had themselves proposed to the *Dutch*, and agreed in *April* last, which had been laid and pursued as the very foundation of the peace.

In this uncertain state all matters continued at the *Hague* for about three weeks, the opinions of most men running generally against the peace; as well as the wagers at *Amsterdam*, by which people often imagine the pulse of the State is to be felt and judged, though indeed it be a sort of trade driven by men that have little dealing or success in any other, and is managed with more tricks than the rest seems to be in that scene; not only coining false news upon the place, but practising intelligence from remote parts to their purpose, concerting the same advices from different countries, and making great secret and mystery of reports that are raised on purpose to be public; and yet by such devices as these, not only the wagers at *Amsterdam* are commonly turning, but the rising and falling of the very actions of the *East-India* company are often and in a great measure influenced.

But *France* thought the conjuncture too important to let it hover long in such uncertainties; and therefore first dispatched a courier to their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, with leave to satisfy the States in those clauses of their treaty wherein they seemed to except justly against Monsieur *Van Beverning's* conduct, and thereby cover the credit of that Minister who had been so affectionate an instrument in the progress of the treaty. Next, they gave them liberty to soften a little of the rigour they had hitherto exercised in the smallest points contested with the *Spaniards*; and last of all, they dispatched an express to their Ambassadors, with power to remit all the differences which obstructed or retarded the conclusion of the treaty between that Crown and *Spain*, to the determination and arbitrage of the States themselves.

This was a pace of so much confidence towards the States, and appeared such a testimony of the Most Christian King's sincerity in the late advances he had made towards a peace, that it had all the effect designed by it.

it. The several towns and provinces proceeded with a general concurrence to the ratifications of the peace, that they might lie ready in their Ambassadors hands to be exchanged when that of *Spain* should be signed. Monsieur *Van Beverning*, now favoured with a fair gale from home, the humour of his country blowing the same way with his own dispositions, and seconded with the great facilities that were given by *France*, made such a quick dispatch of what remained in contest upon the treaty between *France* and *Spain*, that all was perfected and signed by the twentieth of *September*, and thereupon the *Dutch* ratifications were exchanged with the usual forms. In all this Sir *Lionel Jenkins* had no part, as in an affair disapproved by the King his master. The *Dutch* Ambassadors played the part of formal Mediators; had the treaty between the two Crowns signed at their house; and took great care, by the choice and disposition of the room where it was performed, to avoid all punctilio's about place, that might arise between the several Ambassadors. Mr. *Hide* had the mortification to return into *England*, with the intire disappointment of the design upon which he came, and believed the Court so passionately bent; I was left at the *Hague* without any thing more to do, than to perform the part of a common Ambassador; *France* was left in possession of the peace with *Holland* and *Spain*, and, by consequence, master of that of the empire and the north, upon their own terms; and *England* was left to busy itself about a fire that was breaking out at home, with so much smoke, and so much noise, that, as it was hard to discover the beginning, so it was much harder to foresee the end of it.

After the peace of *Spain* signed, and of *Holland* ratified, though the Ambassadors of the Emperor at *Nimeguen* were fullen, and those of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* enraged, yet, by the application of the *Dutch* Ambassadors, the conferences were set on foot between

tween them and the *French*; and Sir *Lionel* received orders from Court to return to his function, though the remaining part he had in the affair was rather that of a messenger than a Mediator. The northern Princes continued their preparations and marches, as if they were resolved to pursue the war; but at the same time gave jealousies to the Emperor of some private intelligences or negotiations of separate treaties set on foot between *France* and *Denmark*, and others between that Crown and *Brandenburg*, by Monsieur *Despenſe*, an old servant of the Elector, but subject of *France*. On the other side, *France* made great preparations to attack the empire, upon the pretence of forcing them into the terms they had prescribed for the peace; and thereby gave so great terror to the Princes of the *Rhine*, that lay first exposed to the fury of their arms, that the Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers*, and Duke of *Newburg*, sent away in great haste to the States, demanding and desiring to be included by them in the peace they had made, by virtue of an article therein, which gave them liberty within six weeks to declare and include such as they should name for their allies. But this was opposed by *France*, and refused to any particular Prince of the empire, and allowed only to the Emperor and empire, if they should jointly desire to be declared and included in the peace as an ally of *Holland*. The Duke of *Lorrain*, about the same time, seeing the whole confederacy breaking into so many several pieces, and every one minding only how to shift the best they could for themselves, accepted his part of the peace as *France* had carved it out for him; and chose the alternative offered from that Crown, by which *Nancy* was to remain to *France*. But the Emperor, though he professed all the inclination that could be to see the general peace restored, yet he pretended not to suffer the terms of it should, like laws, be imposed upon him. He consented to the re-establishment

ment of the treaties of *Westphalia*, which seemed to be all that *France* insisted on; but could not agree to the passage demanded for their troops, whenever they found it necessary for the execution of the said treaties; and this was insisted on positively by the *French*. Nor could the Imperialists yield to the dependence pretended by *France* of the ten towns of *Alsace* upon that Crown; which the *French* demanded as so left, or at least intended, by the treaty of *Munster*, while the Emperor's Ambassadors denied either the fact or the intention of that treaty.

While these dispositions, and these difficulties, delayed the treaty of the Emperor, the ratifications of *Spain* were likewise deferred, by concert, as was supposed, between the two houses of *Austria*; so as the term agreed for the exchange of them was quite elapsed, and twice renewed or prolonged by *France*, at the desire of the States. But, during this time, the *French* troops made incursions into the richest parts of *Flanders*, and which had been best covered in the time of the war; and there exacted so great contributions, and made such ravages where they were disputed, that the *Spanish Netherlands* were more ruined between the signing of the peace, and the exchange of the ratifications, than they had been in so much time, during the whole course of the war.

The outcries and calamities of their subjects in *Flanders*, at length, moved the *Spaniards* out of their slow pace; but more, the embroilments of *England* upon the subject of the plot, which took up the minds both of Court and Parliament, and left them little or no regard for the course of foreign affairs. This prospect made *Holland* the more eager upon urging the peace to a general issue; and *France*, making a wise use of so favourable a conjuncture, pressed the empire, not only by the threats and preparations of a sudden invasion, but also by confining their offers of the peace to cer-
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tain days, and raising much higher demands, if those should expire before the Emperor's acceptance.

All these circumstances, improved by the diligence and abilities of the *Dutch* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, at length determined the house of *Austria* to run the ship a-shore, whatever came on it, rather than keep out at sea in so cruel a storm as they saw falling upon them, and for which they found themselves so unprovided. The *Spanish* ratifications at length arrived: and after the winter far spent in fruitless contest by the Imperial Ambassadors, and more fruitless hopes from *England* by the *Spaniards* and other confederates, Sir *Lionel Jenkins* gave notice, both to the court and to me, that he looked upon the treaty between the Emperor and *France* to be as good as concluded; and soon after I received his Majesty's commands to go immediately away from the *Hague* to *Nimeguen*, and there assist as a Mediator at the signing of the peace, which then appeared to be general.

I never obeyed the King so unwillingly in my life, both upon account of an errand so unnecessary, and, at best, so merely formal (which I never had been used to in so long a course of employments); and likewise upon the unclemency of the season, which was never known so great in any man's memory as when I set out from the *Hague*. The snow was in many places where I passed near ten foot deep, and ways for my coach forced to be digged through it; several post-boys died upon the road; and it was ridiculous to see people walk about with long icicles from their noses. I passed both the *Rhine* and the *Waal*, with both coaches and waggons, upon the ice; and never in my life suffered so much from weather as in this journey, in spite of all provisions I could make against it. The best of it was, that I knew all the way. It was neither at all material that the Mediators should sign this branch of the general peace, having signed none of the

the other ; nor that two should sign it, when one alone had assisted in the course of this negotiation since it was renewed between the Empire and *France*. Besides, I was very confident it would not at last be signed by either of us ; for I could not believe, when it came to the point, the Emperor's Ambassadors should yield that of precedence to the Mediators, at the conclusion of the treaty, which they never consented to do in the whole course of it : so that I looked upon the favour of this journey, as afforded me from the particular good-will of some of my good friends in the foreign committee ; taking a rise from some instances of Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, who was in one of his usual agonies, for fear of being left in the way of signing alone a treaty, which he neither was pleased with himself, nor believed many people in *England* like to be.

I arrived at *Nimeguen* the end of *January* 1678-9, and found all concluded, and ready to sign, as Sir *Lionel* believed ; yet the Imperialists made a vigorous effort in two conferences, after my arrival, to gain some ease in the points of *Lorraine*, and the dependence of the ten towns in *Alsace*, wherein they thought themselves the most hardly used of any others, and in the first, their master's honour and justice most concerned ; so as Count *Kinski* made a mien of absolutely breaking, without some relief upon them. But the *French* Ambassadors knew too well the force of the conjuncture, and the necessity laid upon the Emperor by the *Dutch* and *Spanish* peace, to pass the same way, or leap out of the window ; and they were too skilful not to make use of it, or to give any ground to all the instances or threats of the *Imperialists*. These, on the other side, durst not venture the expiration of the last day given them by *France*, nor the reserve made in that case of exacting new and harder terms. So as the peace was signed about three days after my arrival.

arrival. The poor Duke of *Lorraine* thought himself pressed with such hardships upon both the alternatives, that he could not resolve to accept of either; for, in that he had chosen, not only his duchy was dismembred of several great parts wholly cut off, but the rest left at the *French* discretion; who insisted upon great spaces of ground left them in propriety, quite cross his country, for the march of their armies, whenever they should pretend occasion: so this noble, but unfortunate Prince, was left wholly out of the treaty, and of his country; contrary to the direct and repeated engagements of the confederates, and the intentions of his Majesty, as he often declared in the whole course of the treaty.

When it was ready to sign, the *French* Ambassadors offered to yield the precedence in signing it to us as Mediators, which they had done very frankly in the whole course of this assembly; but the *Imperialists*, when it came to the point, downright refused it; and we, according to our primitive orders, refused to sign without it; and, by our offers, gained only the point of having that determined against us, which till this time had always remained in suspense.

Whilst I staid at *Nimeguen*, I had a sheet of paper sent me from an unknown hand, written in *Latin*, but in a style and character that discovered it to be by some *German*: the subject of it was a long comment upon a quatrain recited out of a *Nostredamus*.

Né sous les ombres d'une journée nocturne

Sera en los et bonté Souverain,

Fera renaistre le sang de l'antique urne

Et changera en or le siecle d'Airain.

Under the shades of a nocturnal day being born,

In glory and goodness Sovereign shall shine,

Shall

*Shall cause to spring again the blood o' the ancient
urn,*

And, into gold, the brazen age refine.

The scope of the whole discourse was to prove the Prince of *Orange's* being by it designed for the crown of *England*, and how much glory and felicity should attend that age and reign. I could not but mention it, because I thought the interpretation ingeniously found out and applied, having otherwise very little regard for any such kind of predictions, that are so apt to amuse the world. And though the present state of the Royal family leave not this without appearance of arriving at one time or other, yet it is at too great a distance for my eyes, which, by the course of nature, must be closed long before such an event is like to succeed. The author of this paper made *the shades of a nocturnal day* to signify the deep mourning of the Princess Royal's chamber, with the lamps hung about it, which, by the window's being kept shut, left no other light in it that morning the Prince was born (which was soon after his father's death). *Restoring the blood of the ancient urn*, was that of *Bourbon*, or of *Charlemagne*, from whom the Prince was said to descend. The rest was only panegyric upon his virtues, and the general praise should attend them, and the golden age he should restore.

The day after the treaty was signed I left *Nimeguen*, and returned to the *Hague*, after a cruel fatigue and expence; which was rendered the more agreeable, when, upon my going into *England* soon after, I found myself in above seven thousand pounds in arrear at the treasury: and though, with much trouble and delay, and some worse circumstances (to engage men that were more dexterous than I in such pursuits) I recovered the rest of my debt; yet two and twenty hundred pounds, due to me for this last embassy, continues

to this day a desperate debt, and mark upon me how unfit I am for a Court; and Mr. *Godolphin*, after having both said and writ to me, that he would move to have my statue set up if I compassed that treaty, has sat several years since in the Treasury, and seen me want the very money I laid out of my own purse in that service, and which I am like to leave a debt upon my estate and family.

I shall not trouble myself with observing the remaining paces of the general peace, by that of the north, which was left to be made at the mercy of *France*. And though *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* looked big, and spoke high for a time after the peace between the empire and *France*, pretending they would defend what they had conquered from the *Swedes* in *Germany*; yet upon the march of the *French* troops into the *Brandenburg* country, both those Princes made what haste they could to finish their separate treaties with *France*; and, upon certain sums of money agreed on, delivered up all they had gained in this war to the Crown of *Sweden*. Thus Christendom was left for the present in a general peace, and *France* to pursue what they could gain upon their neighbours by their pretensions of dependences, and by the *Droit de bienveillance* [*The right of conveniency*]; which they pursued with such imperious methods, both against the Empire and the *Spaniards*, as rendered their acquisitions after the peace greater, at least in consequence, than what they had gained by the war: since not only great tracts of country, upon the score of dependencies, but *Strasburg* and *Luxemburg* fell as sacrifices to their ambition, without any neighbouring Prince or State concerning themselves in their relief. But these enterprises I leave to some other's observations.

Very soon after my arrival at the *Hague*, the King sent me orders to provide for my return as soon as I could possibly be ready; and bid me acquaint the Prince

Prince and the States, that he had sent for me over to come into the place of the first secretary of State in Mr. *Coventry's* room. My Lord treasurer writ to me to the same purpose, and with more esteem than I could pretend to deserve, telling me, among other things, they were fallen into a cruel disease, and had need of so able a physician. This put me in mind of a story of Dr. *Prujean* (the greatest of that profession in our time) and which I told my friends that were with me when these letters came. A certain Lady came to the Doctor in great trouble about her daughter. *Why, what ails she?* Alas, Doctor, I cannot tell; but she has lost her humour, her looks, her stomach; her strength consumes every day, so as we fear she cannot live. *Why do not you marry her?* Alas, Doctor, that we would fain do, and have offered her as good a match as she could ever expect, but she will not hear of marrying. *Is there no other, do you think, that she would be content to marry?* Ah Doctor! that is it that troubles us; for there is a young gentleman we doubt she loves, that her father and I can never consent to. *Why look you Madam,* replies the Doctor gravely (being among all his books in his closet) *then the case is this, your daughter would marry one man, and you would have her marry another: in all my books I find no remedy for such a disease as this.* I confess, I esteemed the case as desperate in a political as in a natural body, and as little to be attempted by a man, who neither ever had his own fortune at heart (which such conjunctures are only proper for) nor ever could resolve upon any pursuits of it, to go against either the true interest or the laws of his country; one of which is commonly endangered upon the fatal misfortune of such divisions in a kingdom: I chose therefore to make my excuses both to the King and to my Lord Treasurer, and desired leave to go to *Florence*, and discharge myself of a promise I had made some years past

past of a visit to the Great Duke, the first time I had leisure from my public employments. Instead of granting this suit, the King sent a yacht for me, towards the latter end of *February* 1678-9, with orders to come immediately away to enter upon the Secretary's office about the same time with my Lord *Sunderland*, who was brought into Sir *Joseph Williamson's* place. I obeyed his Majesty, and acquainted the Prince and States with my journey, and the design of it, according to his command; who made me compliments upon both, and would have had me believe, that the Secretary of State was to make amends for the loss of the Ambassador. But I told the Prince, that though I must go, yet, if I found the scene what it appeared to us at that distance, I would not charge myself with that employment upon any terms that could be offered me. We knew very well in *Holland*, that both houses of Parliament believed the plot: that the Clergy, the city, the country in general did so too, or at least pursued it as if they all believed it. We knew the King and some of the Court believed nothing of it, and yet thought not fit to own that opinion: and the Prince told me, he had reason to be confident that the King was in his heart a *Roman-Catholic*, though he durst not profess it. For my own part, I knew not what to believe on one side or t'other; but thought it easy to presage, from such contrary winds and tides, such a storm must rise, as would tear the ship in pieces, whatever hand were at the helm.

At my arrival in *England*, about the latter end of *February*, I found the King had dissolved a Parliament that had sat eighteen years, and given great testimonies of loyalty and compliance with his Majesty, till they broke first into heats upon the *French* alliances, and at last into flames upon the business of the plot: I found a new Parliament was called; and that, to make way for a calmer session, the resolution had been
taken

taken at Court for the Duke's going over into *Holland*, who embarked the day after my arrival at *London*. The elections of the ensuing Parliament were so eagerly pursued, that all were in a manner engaged before I came over; and, by the dispositions that appeared in both electors and elected, it was easy to presage in what temper the houses were like to meet: my Lord *Shaftsbury*, my Lord *Effex*, and my Lord *Hallifax* had struck up with the Duke of *Monmouth*, resolving to make sure of his credit with the King, and to support it by theirs in the Parliament: and though the first had been as deep as any in the counsels of the cabal, while he was Chancellor, yet all three had now fallen in with the common humour against the Court and the ministry, endeavouring to inflame the discontents against both; and agreed among themselves, that none of them would come into Court, unless they did it all together; which was observed like other common strains of Court-friendships. Sir *William Coventry* had the most credit of any man in the house of Commons, and, I think, the most deservedly, not only for his great abilities, but for having been turned out of the council and treasury, to make way for my Lord *Clifford's* greatness, and the designs of the cabal. He had been ever since opposite to the *French* alliances, and bent upon engaging *England* in a war with that Crown, and assistance of the confederates; and was now extremely dissatisfied with the conclusion of the peace, and with the ministry, that he thought either assisted, or at least might have prevented it; and in these dispositions he was like to be followed by the best and soberest part of the house of Commons. For my Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain, I found them two most admirable emblems of the true, and so much admired felicity of Ministers of State: the last, notwithstanding the greatest skill of Court, and the best turns of wit in particular conversation that I have known

known there, and the great figure he made in the first part of these memoirs, was now grown out of all credit and confidence with the King, the Duke, and Prince of *Orange*; and thereby forced to support himself by intrigues with the persons most discontented against my Lord Treasurer's ministry, whose greatness he so much envied: and who was yet at this time in much worse condition than himself, though not so sensible of it; for he had been very ill with the late Parliament upon account of a transaction with *France*, which though he had not approved, yet he durst not defend himself from the imputation, for fear of exposing his master; he was hated by the *French* Ambassador, for endeavouring (as he thought,) to engage the King in a war with *France*; he was in danger of being pursued by his enemies next Parliament, for having (as they pretended,) made the peace, and endeavoured to stifle the plot: and yet I found, within a fortnight after I arrived, that he sat very loose with the King his master, who told me several reasons of that change; whereof one was, his having brought the business of the plot into the Parliament against his absolute command: and, to complete the happy and envied state of this chief Minister, the Duchesse of *Portsmouth* and Earl of *Sunderland* were joined with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Shaftsbury* in the design of his ruin. What a game so embroiled, and played on all sides with so much heat and passion, was like to end in, no man could tell: but I, that never had any thing so much at heart as the union of my country, which I thought the only way to its greatness and felicity, was very unwilling to have any part in the divisions of it; the deplorable effects whereof I had been too much acquainted with in the stories of *Athens* and *Rome*, as well as of *England* and *France*: and for this reason, though I was very much pressed to enter upon the Secretary's office immediately after my

my arrival, yet I delayed it, by representing to his Majesty how necessary it was for him to have one of the Secretaries in the house of Commons, (where it had been usual to have them both) and that consequently it was very unfit for me to enter upon that office before I got into the house, which was attempted, and failed: but how long this excuse lasted, and how it was succeeded by many new and various accidents, and how I was prevailed with by the King to have the part I had afterwards in a new constitution of council; and how, after almost two years unsuccessful endeavours at some union, or at least some allays of the heats and distempers between the King and his Parliaments, I took the resolution of having no more to do with affairs of State; will be the subject of a third part of these memoirs.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS,

THE THIRD PART,

FROM THE

P E A C E concluded 1679,

TO THE

Time of the A U T H O R ' s Retirement
from public Business.

Et ille quidem plenus annis abiit, plenus honoribus, illis etiam quos recusavit.

PLIN. Epist. lib. 2. epist. 1.

E e e

MEMOIRS

THE THIRD PART

FROM THE

P.E.A.C.E. concluded 1679

TO THE

Time of the Author's Retirement
from public Business.

As the Author's private and public life, and his
political and literary career, are here
presented in a connected and complete manner.

See

THE
P R E F A C E.

IT was perfectly in compliance to some persons, for whose opinion I have great deference, that I so long withheld the publication of the following papers. They seemed to think, that the freedom of passages in these Memoirs might give offence to several who were still alive; and whose part in those affairs, which are here related, could not be transmitted to posterity with any advantage to their reputation. But, whether this objection be in itself of much weight, may perhaps be disputed; at least it should have little with me, who am under no restraint in that particular; since I am not of an age to remember those transactions, nor had any acquaintance with those persons whose counsels or proceedings are condemned, and who are all of them now dead.

But, as this author is very free in exposing the weakness and corruptions of ill Ministers, so he is as ready to commend the abilities and virtue of others, as may be observed from several passages of these Memoirs; particularly, of the late Earl of Sunderland, with whom the author continued in the most intimate friendship to his death; and who was father of that most learned and excellent Lord, now Secretary of State; as likewise, of the present Earl of Rochester; and the Earl of Godolphin, now Lord Treasurer, represented by this impartial author as a person at that time deservedly intrusted with so great a
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part in the prime ministry ; an office he now executes again with such universal applause, so much to the Queen's honour and his own, and to the advantage of his country, as well as of the whole confederacy.

There are two objections I have sometimes heard to have been offered against those Memoirs that were printed in the author's life-time, and which these now published may, perhaps, be equally liable to. First, as to the matter ; that the author speaks too much of himself : next, as to the style ; that he affects the use of French words, as well as some turns of expression peculiar to that language.

I believe, those, who make the former criticism, do not well consider the nature of Memoirs. 'Tis to the French (if I mistake not) we chiefly owe that manner of writing ; and Sir William Temple is not only the first, but I think the only English-man, (at least of any consequence,) who ever attempted it. The best French Memoirs are writ by such persons as were the principal actors in those transactions they pretend to relate, whether of wars or negotiations. Those of Sir William Temple are of the same nature ; and therefore, in my judgment, the publisher (who sent them into the world without the author's privity) gave them a wrong title, when he called them Memoirs of what passed in Christendom, &c. whereas it should rather have been, Memoirs of the treaty at Nimeguen, which was plainly the sense of the author, who in the epistle tells his son, that, in compliance with his desire, he will leave him some Memoirs of what passed in his public employments abroad : and in the book itself, when
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he deduces an account of the state of war in Christendom, he says it is only to prepare the reader for a relation of that famous treaty; where he and Sir Lionel Jenkins were the only Mediators that continued any considerable time; and as the author was first in commission, so in point of abilities or credit, either abroad or at home, there was no sort of comparison between the two persons. Those Memoirs therefore are properly a relation of a general treaty of peace, wherein the author had the principal, as well as the most honourable part, in quality of Mediator; so that the frequent mention of himself seems not only excusable but necessary. The same may be offered in defence of the following papers, because, during the greatest part of the period they treat of, the author was in chief confidence with the King his master. To which it may be added, that, in the few preliminary lines at the head of the first page, the author professes he writ those papers for the satisfaction of his friends hereafter, upon the grounds of his retirement, and his resolution never to meddle again with public affairs.

As to the objection against the style of the former Memoirs, that it abounds in French words and turns of expression; it is to be considered, that, at the treaty of Nimeguen, all business, either by writing or discourse, passed in the French tongue; and the author having lived so many years abroad in that and former embassies, where all business, as well as conversation, ran in that language, it was hardly possible for him to write upon public affairs without some tincture of it in his style; though in his other writings, there be little or nothing of it to be observed;
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and, as he has often assured me, it was a thing he never affected; so, upon the objections made to his former Memoirs, he blotted out some French words in these, and placed English in their stead, though perhaps not so significant.

There is one thing proper to inform the reader, why these Memoirs are called the third part, there having never been published but one part before, where, in the beginning, the author mentions a former part, and in the conclusion promises a third. The subject of the first part was chiefly the triple alliance, during the negotiation of which my Lord Arlington was Secretary of State and chief Minister: Sir William Temple often assured me, he had burnt those Memoirs; and for that reason was content his letters, during his embassies at the Hague and Aix la Chapelle, should be printed after his death; in some manner to supply that loss.

What it was, that moved Sir William Temple to burn those first Memoirs, may perhaps be conjectured from some passages in the second part formerly printed: in one place the author has these words, My Lord Arlington, who made so great a figure in the former part of these Memoirs, was now grown out of all credit, &c. In other parts he tells us, that Lord was of the ministry which broke the triple league; advised the Dutch war and French alliance; and, in short, was at the bottom of all those ruinous measures which the Court of England was then taking; so that, as I have been told from a good hand, and as it seems very probable, he could not think that Lord a person fit to be celebrated for his part in forwarding that famous league while he was Secretary of State,

who

who had made such counterpaces to destroy it. At the end I have subjoined an appendix containing, besides one or two other particulars, a speech of Sir William Temple's in the house of Commons, and an answer of the King's to an address of that house, relating to the bill of exclusion, both which are mentioned in these Memoirs.

I have only further to inform the reader, that although these papers were corrected by the author, yet he had once intended to insert some additions in several places, as appeared by certain hints or memorandums in the margin; but whether they were omitted out of forgetfulness, neglect, or want of health, I cannot determine: one passage relating to Sir William Jones he was pleased to tell me, and I have added it in the appendix. The rest I know nothing of; but the thread of the story is intire without them.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

M E M O I R S,

T H E T H I R D P A R T,

[Written for the Satisfaction of my Friends hereafter, upon the Grounds of my Retirement, and Resolution never to meddle again with any Public Affairs from this present *February*, 1680-1.]

U P O N my return from *Nimeguen* to the *Hague*, after the Emperor's Ambassadors having signed the peace, the King signified his pleasure to me, by a letter from my Lord * Treasurer, that he would have me come over to enter into the Secretary's office in Mr. *Coventry*'s room, according to the resolution he had taken the year before, when he sent for me over into *England* from *Nimeguen* to that purpose.

I sent my humble acknowledgments to the King, in my answer to the Lord Treasurer's letter; but withal my humble excuses for not putting his Majesty upon the use of an old beaten horse, in such hard service as I took that station then to be; and proposed my colleague, Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, for that purpose. And having long promised the Great Duke, that I would make him a visit at *Florence*, if I lived; I turned my thoughts wholly to get leave for that journey, as soon as the congress at *Nimeguen* should wholly break up, as it was like to do some time that spring, 1678-9.

This gave some respite at Court to the resolutions of my return, and an overture for Sir *Lionel Jenkins*'s coming over in my room; so that I prepared for a short return to *Nimeguen*; when most unexpectedly came a

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* Earl of Danby, now Duke of Leeds.

yacht to *Rotterdam*, with letters from my Lord Treasurer, and from the Earl of *Sunderland*, who had newly succeeded Sir *Joseph Williamson*. And, in both those dispatches, there was a positive command from the King, for my immediate repair into *England*, in order to my entering upon the Secretary's office.

The King writ the same thing at the same time to the Prince, and gave him leave to acquaint the States with it, which he did, as a thing he thought they would be pleased with (as he was himself, and indeed all my friends :) though while I was forced to stay at the *Hague*, about a fortnight before my embarking, they all found me in very different thoughts, both upon my discourses and my letters : insomuch that the Prince told me, he looked upon it as a piece of predestination, that I should be Secretary of State at last, in spite of all I had done so long to avoid it.

Upon my arrival in *England*, I met with the most surprising scene that ever was : the long Parliament dissolved, and the resolution taken for the Duke's going into *Holland*, and that he was to part next day : so that I had only one occasion of speaking to him ; when he told me with great freedom the paces that had been made towards that resolution, much against his own opinion, and bid me remember what he foretold me, that however this was thought likely to stop the violent humour then raised by the *plot*, yet I should see it would go on next to my Lord Treasurer's ruin, tho' he did not expect it.

When the Duke was gone, and the King had told me, with the greatest kindness that could be, of his resolution to have me Secretary ; and that I had no reason to take it well, because he knew not one man besides in *England* that was fit for it upon Mr. *Coventry's* removal : and on the other side, my friends had told me, they had the money ready for me to lay down, which was five thousand pounds ; I began to consider the

the ground, and the journey, and my own strength to go through with it. I found nothing so necessary for his Majesty's affairs abroad, and those of Christendom, as great union at home; which might enable him to make such a figure as the preservation of his allies required; and indeed the general interest of Christendom; which seemed to depend wholly upon his Majesty's measures. On the other side, I never saw greater disturbance in men's minds at home, than had been raised by the *plot*, and the pursuit of it in the Parliament; and observed, that though it was generally believed by both houses, by city and country, by clergy and laity; yet when I talked with some of my friends in private, who ought best to know the bottom of it, they only concluded that it was yet mysterious; that they could not say the King believed it; but, however, that the Parliament and nation were so generally and strongly possessed with it, that it must of necessity be pursued as if it were true, whether it was so or not: and that, without the King's uniting with his people upon this point, he would never grow either into ease at home, or consideration abroad.

Upon three days thought of this whole affair, I concluded it a scene unfit for such actors as I knew myself to be; and resolved to avoid the Secretary's place, or any other public employment at home, my character abroad still continuing. This I acquainted my nearest friends with; ordered the money to be returned, which had been provided by them; and fell into the consultations how I might get off this point, without any thing that might appear undutiful or ungrateful to his Majesty.

The elections were canvassing for a new Parliament, and I ordered my pretensions so as they came to fail. In the mean time I deferred my entering into the Secretary's place, till I might likewise enter into the house of Commons, which both his Majesty and Lord Treasurer

Treasurer were satisfied with, though not Lord *Sunderland*. But when that Parliament was chosen, and I not of the house, I represented to his Majesty how unfit it was to have a Parliament meet without his having one Secretary of the house of Commons, and how useful Mr. *Coventry* would be to him there; and so obtained a respite till I could be chosen of the house; which was endeavoured upon each doubtful election, especially that at *Windsor*, but however could not be carried.

The short Parliament met, with the disputes between the Court and the Commons about the Speaker, begun indeed upon a pique between the Treasurer and Mr. *Seymour*, [afterwards Sir *Edward Seymour*] or rather between my Lady *Danby* and him. However it was, this soon ran the house into such violences against my Lord Treasurer, as ended in his ruin; first by the King's sudden resolution to remove him, then by the Commons continuing their pursuits and impeachments; and last, by his Lordship's first concealing, and then producing himself in the face of this storm, which ended in the tower.

After these heats of the Commons, which increased into new measures and motions among them, as they were swayed by popular humours upon the plot, and many new plots laid by the ambitions of private persons, carried on under covert of the other; I never saw any man more sensible of the miserable condition of his affairs, than I found his Majesty upon many discourses with him, which my foreign employments and correspondences made way for. But nothing he said to me moved me more, than when, upon the said prospect of them all, he told me, he had none left, with whom he could so much as speak of them in confidence, since my Lord Treasurer's being gone. And this gave, I suppose, his Majesty the occasion of entering into more confidence with me, than I could deserve or expect.

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On the other side I found, that the counsel of my Lord Treasurer's removal had been carried on by the Duke of *Monmouth*, in conjunction with the Duchess of *Portsmouth*, and Lord *Essex*, who was then in the greatest confidence with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and by him and Lord *Sunderland* newly brought into the treasury. I found my Lord *Sunderland* at least in compliance with this knot, and that all were resolved to bring my Lord *Shaftsbury* again into court, who was in confidence with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Essex*, and had a near relation to Lord *Sunderland*. I observed the great affection his Majesty had to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and saw plainly the use his Grace intended to make of it, in case he could introduce a ministry at his own devotion, or in his interests: and this being a matter that might concern the very succession of the crown, and not only an injury to the Duke, but through him to his children, and the Prince of *Orange*; I resolved first, if it were possible, to break the growth of that ministry, though I saw no men whom I could design to fix in it, with any satisfaction or advantage to the King or his service.

On the other side, I observed the Parliament to grow every day more violent, upon the support they received from the humours raised by the plot, and the incentives given them by the ambitions of persons playing that game. I saw a probability of matters growing to such a pass, that his Majesty might be forced to part with them; and yet I saw not authority enough left in the Crown, either to do that without the venture of great mischiefs, or to live without another Parliament till the present humours might cool. And both these considerations, meeting together, cast me upon the thoughts of the King's establishing a new council, of such a constitution, as might either gain credit enough with the present Parliament, by taking in so many persons of those who had most among them,
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and thereby give ease and quiet both to the King and his people; or if, on the other side, the humours should grow outrageous and beyond opposing, the King might yet, at the head of such a council, with more authority and less hazard of ill consequences, either prorogue or dissolve them, as any necessities of his own, or extravagancies of theirs should require.

For these ends it seemed necessary, to take into the council some Lords and Commoners, who were of most appearing credit and sway in both houses, without being thought either principled or interested against the government; and mix them with others of his Majesty's more general choice, for making up one half of the council, whilst the other half, being fifteen, were ever to be the present chief officers of his Crown and household: who being all of his Majesty's known trust, as well as choice, would be sure to keep the council steady to the true interest of his Majesty, and the Crown.

But one chief regard, necessary to this constitution, was that of the personal riches of this new council; which, in revenues of land or offices, was found to amount to about three hundred thousand pounds a-year; whereas those of a house of Commons are seldom found to have exceeded four hundred thousand pounds. And authority is observed much to follow land: and at the worst, such a council might, out of their own stock, and upon a pinch, furnish the King so far, as to relieve some great necessity of the Crown.

This whole matter was consulted and deduced upon paper, only between the King and me, and lasted in the debate and digestion about a month: but when the forms and persons were agreed, and his Majesty seemed much satisfied with the thing, and resolved to go on with it, I humbly desired him not to take a resolution of that importance, without first communicating it to three or four persons of those his Majesty

sty could most rely upon in point of judgment, secrecy, and affection to his service. The King resolved I should go and communicate the whole scheme, with all the particulars of it, to my* Lord Chancellor, Lord *Sunderland*, and Lord *Essex*; but one after another; and with charge from him of the last secrecy; and should bring him word of their opinions upon it; and, if they concurred with his, should appoint them to attend his Majesty next morning; the Chancellor only entering into his lodgings by the common way, but the other two and I by the private one below.

When I acquainted them with it, they all received it with equal amazement and pleasure. My Lord Chancellor said, it looked like a thing from heaven, fallen into his Majesty's breast: Lord *Essex*, that it would leave the Parliament and nation in the same dispositions to the King which he found at his coming in: and Lord *Sunderland* approved it as much as any.

Next day we attended his Majesty, and had a very long audience; upon which no difficulty arose but two, that were wholly personal. I had proposed Lord *Hallifax* as one of the Lords, whom the King had indeed kicked at, in our first consultations, more than any of the rest: but upon several representations, of his family, his abilities, his estate and credit, as well as talent to ridicule and unravel whatever he was spited at, I thought his Majesty had been contented with it: but, at this meeting, he raised new difficulties upon it, and appeared a great while invincible in them, though we all joined in the defence of it: and at last, I told the King, we would fall upon our knees to gain a point that we all thought necessary for his service: and then his Majesty consented.

The other was concerning Lord *Shaftsbury*, who had never been mentioned in our first debates; and the

* *Finch.*

the King either had not thought of him before upon this affair, or had not mentioned him to me, as knowing, upon all occasions of private discourse with his Majesty, what opinion I had of that Lord. But after my Lord *Hallifax* had passed, the King said there was another, who, if he were left out, might do as much mischief as any, and named Lord *Shaftsbury*; to which the other three agreed: and concluded further, that he would never be content with a counsellor's place among thirty; and therefore it was proposed, to add one to the number, by making a President, which should be he. I disputed this point, from the first mention, to the last conclusion of it, foretelling he would destroy all the good that we expected from the whole constitution: and said all that I could with so much earnestness, that, when, by his Majesty's agreeing with the other three, I saw it would be concluded, I walked away to the other end of the room, not knowing well whether I should have gone out or not, if the door had been open; but, turning again, I desired his Majesty to remember, that I had no part in Lord *Shaftsbury*'s coming into his council or his affairs; that his Majesty and the other three Lords had resolved it without me; and that I was still absolutely against it. The King laughed, and turned my anger into a jest; and so went on with the rest of the constitution intended, till the whole was resolved and executed publicly in *Easter 1679* *.

The night before the thing was to be done, his Majesty thought fit to tell it the Duke of *Monmouth*; having kept it secret till then, further than to the four already named. But, as soon as the Duke of *Monmouth* knew, though only in general, that the council should be changed, he told it so many, that it was common talk next morning; which we interpreted either lightness or vanity, to have it thought, that he had part

* See the appendix.

part in an affair likely to pass so well. And indeed, when the thing was done in the forms that are known, it was received with general applause in the country, with bonfires in the city, and the same in *Ireland*: in *Holland*, the actions of the *East-India* company rose upon it immediately, and very much; and the States designed one of their best and most considerable men, Monsieur *Van Lewen*, to come over Minister into *England* upon this occasion. *France* alone was unsatisfied with it, and Monsieur *Barillon* said it was making *des Etats* [States], and not *des conseils* [councils]; but the reasons were easy to see, and so not most considered.

The house of Commons received it with most coldness, where the contrary was most expected: and the pretending knowers among them, who were not of the council, pretended now to know nothing of it, to expect new revelations, to doubt it might be a new court-juggle, and to refer it to time to tell what it was in truth; in the mean while to suspend their judgments.

This was the first effect of my Lord *Shaftsbury's* good meaning to the King and his affairs, into which he was entered, but not with the personal or transcendent credit he aimed at with his Majesty, and which he thought those who had been authors of this new constitution had the greatest share in. This made him fall in more absolutely with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and use all their endeavours to raise such discontents and heats in the houses, upon the apprehensions of Popery, and propositions to prevent it, that the King found himself soon upon as uneasy terms with this session of Parliament, as he had been with the last; the humours being engaged by my Lord *Shaftsbury's* pretending among his patriots, that the Duke of *Monmouth* had so much credit with the King, that his Majesty desired but a good occasion of consenting to all the Par-

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liament should insist on, which would be given him by their heat and obstinacy, in so popular a point as that against Popery : and if that were once gained, the Duke of *Monmouth* and he should be able to steer all the rest, to the satisfaction of those who called themselves the *good* or the *best* party.

Such a mischief could never have grown, if Lord *Shaftsbury* had not worked himself up into credit, both in Parliament and city, by the appearance of having it with the King, and in the council where he was President ; and by the infusions given of his having or growing yet into greater, by a more secret spring, which was the interest of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the kindness of his Majesty increasing, as appeared since the Duke's absence. I cannot believe but all this would have been avoided, if, upon the new constitution, Lord *Shaftsbury* had been left out, as a person marked by his Majesty, and never to enter more into his affairs or confidence ; which the whole course of his life, from his very first entrance upon publick stages, if examined never so strictly, would have given good ground for. But this fate, as I could not prevent by all my endeavours, so I had foretold it his Majesty the year before : when, upon my coming over, the King had fallen into all the violent expressions that could be against him ; I told his Majesty, that, with his good leave, I would hold any wager, I should yet see that Lord again in his business ; and when the King asked me what made me think so, I said, because I knew he was restless while he was out, and would try every door to get in ; had wit and industry to find out the ways ; and, when money would work, had as much as any body to bestow, and skill enough to know where to place it.

This turn in the King's affairs, upon this new constitution, gave me so great a vexation, and so ill a prospect, that, having delayed the time prescribed, for
every

every man's receiving the sacrament according to law, after his entrance into publick employment, till it was very near expired; I once resolved, by that omission, to make myself absolutely incapable of bearing any for the future; and was not persuaded to lay aside that thought till after long debates upon it with my wife and sister here at *Sheen*: but that matter passed in form, and I continued barely of the council, with a resolution of not entering upon the Secretary's office, though often and earnestly urged to it by Lord *Sunderland*, with others of my friends.

Upon the new constitution of the council, my Lord *Sunderland* had, by Mr. *Sidney*, desired that we two might join together in perfect confidence, and distinct from any others in the course of the King's affairs whether I would enter into the other Secretary's office, or not; which I said I was very willing to embrace, though I knew no need of it, considering how much the general affairs were devolved upon the council, or the particular committees, and how much I thought it was fit that they should continue so, without running into any private channels. This confidence had not run on above a fortnight, when my Lord *Sunderland* asked me, if I were willing my Lord *Essex* should be received into it; which I consented to, though with intimation to Lord *Sunderland* of the opinion I had (for some time of late) of Lord *Essex*, whom I thought I knew better than he did. So we met, for a while, once a day by turns, at each of our houses, and consulted upon the chief affairs that were then on the anvil, and how they might be best prepared for the Parliament or the council: but matters growing very untoward, by the practices of Lord *Shaftsbury*, with the Duke of *Monmouth's* cover at least, and upon the ill humour of the house of Commons about the business of religion; and my Lord *Hallifax* appearing unsatisfied, by observing where the King's confidence was ;

was; I proposed to my Lords *Sunderland* and *Essex*, to receive him into all our consultations; which I thought would both enter him into credit with the King, and give us more ease in the course of his affairs. Lord *Essex* received this overture with his usual dryness; Lord *Sunderland* opposed it a good deal, and told me, I should not find Lord *Hallifax* the person I took him for, but one that could draw with no body, and still climbing up to the top himself. However I continued resolute in pressing it, and so at length the thing was concluded, and we fell all four together into the usual meetings and consultations.

The chief matters, that lay before the King at that time, were, first, the satisfaction of his people, by falling into some measures with the Parliament, that might enable him to look abroad, in such a figure as became the Crown of *England*, and was necessary for preventing the common fears of a new invasion of *France* upon *Flanders* or *Holland*, which looked very desperate, without some strong and resolute protection from *England*.

The second was a resolution to be taken in answer to the instances made by Monsieur *Van Lewen* from the States, about a new guaranty to be given upon the late general peace by his Majesty; particularly to *Spain* in the business of *Flanders*.

The third was the giving some ease to *Scotland*, where the humours began to swell about this time; and which we conceived could be no way done so easily, as by removal of the Duke of *Lawderdale*; a man too much hated both here and there, to be fit for the temper his Majesty seemed resolved to use in his affairs.

For this last, we could not upon any terms obtain it of the King, by all the arguments used (both jointly and severally) by us all four; the King's defence being a very true one, that we none of us knew *Scotland* so well as his Majesty himself.

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For the second, we easily agreed upon the measures that seemed necessary for the satisfaction of the States, and the safety of *Flanders*; being all four of the committee, where all the foreign affairs were consulted; and taking the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* into the first digestion of this treaty with *Holland*, at a meeting for that purpose, at my Lord *Hallifax*'s house; which was the only time I ever had any thing to do, or so much as talk, with my Lord *Shaftsbury*, further than the council chamber.

For the first thing, which was the most important, we found it more perplexed than we could imagine. Both houses of Parliament seemed to have no eyes, but for the dangers of Popery upon the Dukes succession to the crown; which humour was blown up by all the arts and intrigues of the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*. The King seemed willing to secure them all that could be against those fears, without changing the laws in point of succession. * The house of Commons were busy in finding out expedients to secure this point, but could agree on none; being still diverted from fixing on any by Lord *Shaftsbury*'s practices. The council fell upon the same scent with great earnestness and endeavour; and, after much hammering, agreed upon many heads to be offered the Parliament, which are commonly enough known.

These expedients were agreed to by all the council, except my Lord *Shaftsbury* and me; who were against them, upon very different grounds. Mine were two; first, because I believed, that nothing, that came first from the King upon these points, would be accepted by the Commons: who, if they would be satisfied at all, I thought should first agree upon what, and leave it to the King to take or refuse. The second was, that as I did not see any certain ease these expedients would give the King, though agreed to by the houses; so it

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* See the appendix.

was evident to all men, that they would leave the Crown after him in shackles, which put on upon the Duke's occasion, and in his time, would not be easily knocked off by any successor. My Lord *Shaftsbury's* ground was plain, and so expressed by him upon all occasions; which was, that there could be no security against the Duke, if once in possession of the crown: and this, being well infused by his and the Duke of *Monmouth's* friends into the house of Commons, occasioned their fullen rejecting all the expedients offered them by the King, and laid the foundation for the proceedings of the late house of Commons, and the strange disorders wherein they have left affairs at home, and thereby the desperate condition of affairs abroad.

During all these transactions, the three Lords and I continued our constant meetings and consultations; and with so much union, and so disinterested endeavours for the general good of his Majesty's service and the kingdom's, that I could not but say to them, at the end of one of our meetings, that we four were either the four honestest men in *England*, or the greatest knaves; for we made one another at least believe, that we were the honestest men in the world.

But this conjunction held not long: for, after the houses rejecting the expedients offered by the King and council, my Lord *Shaftsbury* finding himself neither in confidence with the King, nor credit in the council, turned all his practices and hopes to the house of Commons, and inflamed them to that degree, as made the three Lords of my commerce begin to grow uneasy, and to cast about which way they might lay this storm. At length my Lord *Sunderland* told me, that Lord *Essex* and Lord *Hallifax* were of opinion, that it was necessary to take in the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* into the first digestion of affairs, considering the influence they had upon the house; and for this end to agree with them in the banishment of the Duke

Duke, either for a certain term, or during the King's life; and desired to know whether I would fall into it with them, and join in bringing it about with the King. I told my Lord *Sunderland* positively I would not: for, first, I would never have any thing to do with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*; and next, I would never enter into matters of difference between the King and his brother; having upon several occasions told them both, that I would ever do all I could towards the union of the whole royal family; but never would have any thing to do in the divisions of it; and no man should ever reproach me with breaking my word, and much less the King or the Duke.

This was peremptory, and so it ended; and thereupon the three Lords fell into meetings and consultations with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*; which I knew nothing of, and began to come less to council, and to meet no more with my usual company, but upon occasion, and without the first confidence; but we still continued our kindness wherever we met, without my inquiring, or they communicating what passed in their new consultations.

But this lasted not long neither: for, within a fortnight or little more, they began to find the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* unreasonable, and like to prevail upon the house of Commons, to endeavour bringing the King into necessities of yielding all points to them, and thereby leaving the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* absolutely at the head of all affairs; so that the three Lords began to make their complaints of it, and to fall upon the thoughts of proroguing the Parliament, as the only remedy left in the present distemper. I agreed with them in this overture, and the rather, because I foresaw it would absolutely break the three Lords from all commerce with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*: and so we agreed to propose it to his Majesty, and

and that it should be debated and resolved at council; where the chief officers depending upon the King, being one half of the council, and joining with others of us that were of his more indifferent choice, we concluded the resolution could not fail to be taken by the majority of the council; if the reasons and necessity of it should not prevail with some of those who seemed most in my Lord *Shaftsbury's* confidence, to leave him upon this occasion. And in this resolution we parted, and appointed to meet again two days after for the fixing it with his Majesty; upon my engaging to go for so long down into the country, where I staid my two days, and came up the third morning early.

Upon my arrival, I found my Lord *Sunderland* had called or sent several times to my house the night before, and left word that he must needs speak with me so soon as I came to town. I sent immediately to *Whiteball*, but found his Lordship was gone already with the King to the house of Lords; whereupon I went to Lord *Essex*, who was nearest me, and asked whether any thing new had happened. He told me that the King had found out, there were remonstrances ready prepared in the house of Commons, to inflame the city and nation upon the points of plot and Popery; and that their three Lordships having upon it consulted with his Majesty, he had resolved the Parliament should be prorogued that morning, upon the King's coming to the house, and that it could not be allowed time or vent by a debate of council; which, for my part, I thought an ill omission, and that it ought to have the authority of the King with advice of his council, according to the usual forms: but it passed otherwise, and with very great resentment of both houses; and such rage of my Lord *Shaftsbury*, that he said upon it aloud in the house, that he would

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the heads of those who were the advisers of this prerogation.

During this session of Parliament, I had several notices given me, of a practice set on foot in the house of Commons, for impeaching me, as one that had been an instrument of making the general peace; and this was urged by stories, of being a man of arbitrary principles, and one that had written several things, though without name, against the constitution of Parliaments, and in favour of Popery: and this went so far, that Mr. * *Mountague* went a great way from man to man in the house, to know whether, if such an accusation were brought in, they would be against me. Several went into it upon hatred to the late Treasurer, whose friend they took me to be, and upon envy at my being designed for Secretary of State; but yet in no such numbers that Mr. *Mountague* could hope to make any thing of it: and when some of my friends acquainted me with it, I only desired them to obtain leave of the house, that I might hear my accusation at the bar of the house, and assured them that I should be glad to have that occasion of telling there both Mr. *Mountague's* story and my own. This fell; but upon the knowledge of these practices, my Lord *Sunderland*, and Mr. † *Sydney*, who thought that a man, who had such part in the King's affairs, ought to stand as well as he could with the house of Commons, pressed me to suffer several small things I had formerly written, and of which copies had run, to be then printed, as they were, under the title of *Miscellanea*. They thought, by that publication, men would see, I was not a man of the dangerous principles pretended; and I might assure the world, of being author of no books that had not my name. The thing seemed to pass well enough; only Lord *Hallifax*, com-

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* Late Duke of *Mountague*.

† Late Earl of *Rumney*.

mending them to me in general, told me as a friend, that I should take heed of carrying too far that principle of paternal dominion, (which was deduced in the Essay of government) for fear of destroying the rights of the people. So tender was every body of those points at that time.

The three Lords and I went on unanimous in our consultations; considering how to make way for a calmer and better-tempered session of Parliament, after the short prorogation which had been made. To which purpose, we again endeavoured the removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, or at least the admission of other Nobles of *Scotland* into those affairs. We concluded the measures with *Holland* in all points, to the satisfaction of their Ambassador; and thought of such acts of council, as might express his Majesty's care for suppressing Popery, even in the intervals of Parliament. We only disagreed in one point, which was the leaving some priests to the law upon the accusation of being priests only, as the house of Commons had desired; which I thought wholly unjust, without giving them public warning by proclamation to be gone, or expect the penalties of law within such a time; since the connivances had lasted now through three Kings reigns: upon this point, Lord *Hallifax* and I had so sharp a debate at Lord *Sunderland*'s lodgings, that he told me, if I would not concur in points, which were so necessary for the people's satisfaction, he would tell every body I was a Papist: and upon his affirming, that the plot must be handled as if it were true, whether it were so or not, in those points that were so generally believed by city or country as well as both houses; I replied, with some heat, that the plot was a matter long on foot before I came over into *England*; that, to understand it, one must have been here to observe all the motions of it; which not having done, I would have nothing to do with it: in other things I

was content to join with them, where they thought I could be of use to the King's service; and where they thought there was none, I was very willing to be excused; and very glad to leave his Majesty's affairs in so good hands as theirs.

Notwithstanding some such differences between me and the three Lords, yet we continued our consultations and confidence; and two of them, Lord *Sunderland* and *Hallifax*, pressed me extremely about this time to come into the Secretary's place. Lord *Hallifax*, particularly, offering to bring it to a point with his uncle *Coventry* upon the money that was to be paid; pretending to be very desirous to see me posted there; and professing to grow weary of the business, since he could find no temper like to grow in the next session of Parliament between the King and them. For, since the last prorogation, Lord *Shaftsbury* had been busy in preparing fuel for next session, not without perpetual appearance of ill humour at council, which broke into spiteful repartees often betwixt him and Lord *Hallifax*. And on t'other side, the Duke of *Monmouth* had broken all measures with Lord *Essex*, with whom he had been long in the last confidence: so as this grew to a spited quarrel between these four; and though commonly smothered when they met, yet not without smoke appearing where they were observed.

In this condition of affairs, the rebellion in *Scotland* broke out; upon which it was pleasant to observe the counterpaces that were made. The King was for suppressing it immediately, by forces from hence to be dispatched and joined with those in *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* to go and command them all. Lord *Shaftsbury* shewed plainly at council, and in other places, that he was unwilling this rising should be wholly or too soon suppressed, or otherwise than by his friends in *Scotland*, who might be thereby introduced into the direction of affairs there, with the removal
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of the Duke of *Lauderdale*: yet, on the other side, he was willing to see the Duke of *Monmouth* grow great by such a command of the King's forces both *English* and *Scots*; and agreed with that Duke, to put the King upon another project at the same time, and to the same end, which was (upon the Duke of *Monmouth's* carrying so many of the forces here into *Scotland*) to raise a troop of two hundred Gentlemen for the guard and safety of the King's person, whereof the Duke of *Monmouth* to be Captain; and which was to be composed chiefly of officers who were out of employment, and whose merits were best known to the Duke of *Monmouth*.

On t'other side, Lord *Effex*, though he agreed with the King's opinion, to have the *Scots* insurrection suppressed; yet he had a mind it should be done by the *Scots*, to prevent the Duke of *Monmouth's* growing greater than he yet was by that command; especially if it should be followed with success. And tho' he would not oppose his Majesty in his resolution of sending the Duke of *Monmouth* upon this expedition; yet he did very openly the other design, which the King himself seemed much bent upon, as well as the Duke of *Monmouth*, to raise the troop of two hundred Gentlemen. The other two Lords and I fell in with him in this last; though Lord *Effex* was most instrumental in breaking it, by raising invincible difficulties in the treasury, where he was at the head: so as, upon composition, money was found for the Duke of *Monmouth's* marching into *Scotland*, and with great ease to him in his personal pretensions; and the new troop was let fall upon want of money.

The Duke of *Monmouth* went into *Scotland*; succeeded; took the body of rebels; suppressed absolutely the rebellion; ordered the punishment of some; gave pardon to the rest; returned in triumph, was received with great applauses and court from all; and with

with great appearance of kindness and credit by the King, who was now removed to *Windsor*, and the council to *Hampton-Court*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* was received.

The term of the prorogation of Parliament drew near expiring, and all agreed that a session could not conveniently begin before *October*: and a day was appointed for considering that matter at council. The Duke of *Monmouth* was greater than ever: Lord *Shaftsbury* reckoned upon being so too, upon the next meeting of Parliament, and at the cost of those whom he took to be the authors of the last prorogation: Lord *Essex* and *Hallifax* looked upon themselves as most in his danger, and aimed at by Lord *Shaftsbury*'s threats, and out of all measures with the Duke of *Monmouth*. This induced a consultation among us, whether, considering the distempers of the present Parliament, the best course were not to dissolve it, and have another called in *October*; wherein the three Lords and I agreed; and the King was perfectly of the same mind, considering with what distempers that Parliament both began and continued. So it was resolved, that the King should propose, at next council, whether it were best to prorogue that Parliament, or dissolve it, and at the same time call another; and that, in the mean time, the Lord Chancellor, and the other chief officers depending upon the King, should be acquainted with his mind, either by his Majesty or the three Lords. For, since the King's going to *Windsor*, I continued at *Sheen*, and only went to *Hampton-Court* on council-days; though the three Lords came often to me, and pressed me as often to come as they did to court, and Lord *Hallifax* protested he would burn my house, and that, if I would not enter upon the Secretary's office, his uncle *Coventry* would look out for some other chapman; for, as soon as he had found one, he was resolved to part with it. I told him I was very willing,
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and would speak to the King, that his market should not be spoiled upon any occasion. Whether his Lordship believed me or not, I did so, and desired his Majesty to think of some other for that place; for my ill health increasing with my age, made me find myself unable to go through with the toils of that office, if executed in the forms and with the attendance it required. The King told me, he could not consent to it; that, if he should, he knew not a man in *England* fit for it besides me, so that I had no reason to take it kindly of him. I desired his Majesty to give me leave and I would propose three persons, of which I would undertake every one should be fitter than I. The King would not so much as hear me name them; but told me, it was a point he had been so long fixed in, that he could not change his resolution.

In our last meeting, we had calculated how many at council could, in any probability, oppose the dissolving of the present Parliament, and calling another; and we had concluded, there could not be above six in the whole council that could be against it, at the most; which we thought would be a great support to the King's resolution, against all the exclamations we expected from Lord *Shaftsbury* and his friends; and at least, that it would be safe against the consequences which were usually deduced from the forms of calling Parliaments always by advice of the council, that the dissolving of them ought to be so too, at least when it was not at their own desire.

The council-day came; and when I came thither, and found the King and three Lords, with some others already there, I asked Lord *Sunderland* and *Hallifax*, whether all was prepared, and Lord Chancellor and other chief officers had been spoke to? They said, no, it had been forgotten or neglected; but the King would do it to each of them apart as they came that morning, and before the council began. I thought
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it hard, a point of that importance should be neglected so long; but was fain to content myself with what they told me would be done. The outward room, where the King was, filled apace; every one made his leg to his Majesty, and filled the circle about him as they came in: I was talking apart, in a corner of the room, till it grew late, and Lord Chancellor told the King that it was so, and I saw the King turn from the Chancellor, and go into the council-chamber: all followed; the council sat; the King proposed his thoughts, whether it were best for his affairs, to prorogue this Parliament till *October*, or to dissolve it, and call another at that time; and desired their Lordships opinions upon it.

I observed a general surprize at the board; which made me begin to doubt, the King had spoke of it to few or none but the Chancellor before he came in: but it soon appeared he had not so much as done that neither: for, after a long pause, he was the first that rose up, and spoke long and violently against the dissolution; and was followed by Lord *Shaftsbury* in the amplest manner, and most tragical terms; Lord *Anglesey* followed them, by urging all the fatal consequences that could be: the same style was pursued by Lord * *Chamberlain*, and agreed to by the Marquis of *Worcester*; and pursued from the top to the very bottom of the table by every man there, and at a very full council; except the three Lords who spoke for the dissolution, but neither with half the length or force of argument they intended to have done; leaving that part as I supposed to me, who was, I confess, well enough instructed in the case, to have said more upon that argument: but I was spited from the first that I heard of my Lord Chancellor's speech, and still more and more as every man spoke, at the consequences happened by such a negligence of my friends,

* Earl of *Arlington*.

friends, who had been perpetually about the King, and might so easily have effected what was agreed on, and thought so necessary; I was the last but one to speak, and saw argument would signify nothing, after such inequality was declared in number; and so contented myself to say in short, That I thought it was every man's opinion, that a happy agreement, between his Majesty and Parliament, was of necessity to his affairs, both at home and abroad: that all the difference, in a continuance of this, or assembling of another Parliament, would depend only upon the likelihood of agreeing better and easier with one than with t'other: that his Majesty had spoken so much of his despairing about any agreement with this present Parliament, and the hopes he had of doing it with another; that, for my part, I thought that ought to decide it; because I thought his Majesty could better judge of that point than any body else. So his Majesty ordered the Chancellor to draw up a proclamation for dissolving that Parliament, and calling another to assemble in *October* following: and thereupon the council broke up, with the greatest rage in the world of the Lord *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Russel*, and two or three more, and the general dissatisfaction of the whole board.

After the council ended, every man's head began to fill with the thoughts of the new elections, and several spoke to the King upon that subject. I had resolved to stand for the university of *Cambridge*; and, the Duke of *Monmouth* being Chancellor, I desired the King to speak to him, to write to some of his friends in my favour: he excused himself, first, upon engagements; but the King pressed him upon mine, as a thing of importance; and that he could not be otherwise engaged, before he knew of the Parliament's being dissolved. I said a good deal too upon it: but do what the King could, by all he was pleased to say, the Duke of *Monmouth* would not be brought further, than

than to say, he would not meddle in it one way or t'other; which gave me the first plain and open testimony of his dispositions towards me, having ever received before all outward civilities, though without my visits or attendances. Yet, I think, his Grace kept his word with me in this point, better than I expected: for my election in the university proceeded with the most general concurrence that could be there, and without any difficulties I could observe from that side; those which were raised coming from the Bishop of *Ely*; who owned the opposing me from the chapter of religion in my *Observations on the Netherlands*, which gave him an opinion, that mine was for such a toleration of religion, as is there described to be in *Holland*.

The council, after this day, was put off till the King's return to *London*, according to the use of that season; and every one began to canvas for elections in the ensuing Parliament, upon which all his Majesty's affairs seemed to depend. The King, in the mean time, resolved to do all that could help to make fair weather there. I told my friends I would take care of my election, and go down about it; but, for the rest, would pass my time at home the remainder of the summer, and recommended the common cares to the three Lords; whose attendance, I knew, would not fail at court, two of them from their offices, and the * third from his humour; which he owned always must have business to employ it, or would else be uneasy.

The summer was declining, but the Duke of *Monmouth* in his greatest height; when the King fell sick at *Windsor*, and with three such fits of a fever as gave much apprehension, and that a general amazement; people looking upon any thing, at this time, that

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* The Marquis of *Hallifax*.

should happen ill to the King as an end of the world. I went to *Windsor*, after the second fit ; and, having seen his Majesty, observed more strength and fewer ill symptoms than had been reported ; nor could I think him in danger, without accidents, which was to be the care of his physicians, who were some of them wholly of my mind. I found and left the three Lords very diligent at court, in attending both his person and affairs, which I was very glad of ; and so came home without entering further into any discourses with them, than of his Majesty's sickness ; which was then the general discourse and care.

About three or four days, having received assurance of the King's certain recovery, by being free of any return of his fever fits, I went up to *London* to solicit a great arrear of my embassies due from the treasury. The Commissioners were met that morning at my Lord *Effex*'s house, whither I went straight ; but, by the way, heard that the Duke was that night passed through *London*, and rode post to *Windsor* ; which I doubted not his Highness had been induced to by the reports of the King's danger, upon the news of his sickness ; and made no further reflexion upon it, than that of the great surprize, and *martel en tête* [uneasiness] that would be given Lord *Effex* and *Halifax* by this sudden arrival of the Duke, to whose interests they had run so counter, and with such heights, for several years. But, upon their late separating all measures from the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Skaftbury*, I thought I had field enough left for doing them good offices to the Duke, when I should see him, which I resolved the next day.

When I came to Lord *Effex*'s house, and asked for the Commissioners, I found they were sat some time, but that Lord *Effex* had newly left them together, and was gone up into his chamber, whither I was immediately sent for ; his servants went out and left him booted,

booted, and ready to get up on horseback. As soon as we were alone, he asked me, whether I had not met with strange news, and what I thought of it? I said it did not seem very strange that the Duke should come, if he thought the King in danger. Lord *Essex* replied, yet 'twas strange he should come without leave from the King; and that, now his Majesty was well, sure he would not think of staying three days: that he was going as fast as he could to *Windsor*, to see what all this business was; and asked me if I would not go; which I excused for that day, but promised the next. In this little discourse, I observed all along a sneering smile, which I knew not what to make of; I thought, if it were a countenance, it was better put on than was usual with his Lordship; and that he should be pleased with it at heart, I could not well imagine, knowing how things had passed between the Duke and him.

Next day I went to *Windsor*; and the first man I met was Lord *Hallifax* coming down from Court on foot, and with a face of trouble; and as soon as he saw me, with hands lift up two or three times; upon which I stopt, and alighting, asked what was the matter; he told me, I knew all as well as he; that the Duke was come; that every body was amazed; but where we were, or what would be next, no body knew: he bid me go on to Court before the King went out; said he was going to his lodging, to sit and think over this new world: but desired we might meet, and my Lord *Sunderland*, after dinner.

I went to the King; and after him to the Duke, who received me with great kindness, and presently carried me into a little inner room, and asked me smiling and very familiarly, whether I did not wonder to see him here: I told him not at all, if he had thought the King in danger; for in that case his Highness had nothing else to do; and that I believed, upon the first
news

news of his Majesty's illness, he would come as near as he could, either to *Newport* or *Calais*, and there expect the next news; but that, his Majesty's sickness having passed so soon, I confessed I had not thought of his coming over. We talked of the King's recovery, what stay his highness would make, which he said should be as the King pleased, for he would obey him in every thing.

I gave the Duke a short account of affairs here, as they had passed since the constitution of the council; of the mischiefs had been occasioned by the Lord *Shaftsbury's* having been brought in so much against my will; of his measures with the Duke of *Monmouth*; of the three Lords having absolutely broken from him; of the credit they were grown into with the King; and of my confidence, they would never fall into any measures against his Highness: upon which chapter I said a great deal that I thought necessary to make Lord *Essex* and *Hallifax's* court, which I was very glad to see so well received by the Duke: for, as to Lord *Sunderland*, I had little reason to believe he needed it, having ever been in with the Court in the whole course of his life. For myself, I only said at last, that, because I did not know what our present distempers might end in, if the next Parliament should prove of the same humour with the two last; nor what measures his Highness would fall into about staying or going away again; I would only say, that, let whatever would befall the King's affairs or his Highness's, he might always reckon upon me as a *legal* man, and one that would always follow the Crown as became me; nor could any thing make the least scruple in this resolution, unless things should ever grow so desperate, as to bring in foreigners, which (if ever it should be) would be a new case, and that I knew not what to think of. Upon this the Duke laid his hand upon mine, and bid me keep there, and said, that he would
ask

ask no more of me or any man : and so I parted after a long and very gracious audience, and came home that night, having missed my Lord *Hallifax* and *Essex* in the afternoon at Lord *Sunderland's*, where we had appointed to meet, and I came, but they failed; and Lord *Sunderland* and I talked deep into nothing, reserving ourselves, as I thought, till the others came.

I staid at home, making the reflexions I could not avoid upon the carriage of my friends; till within a few days I heard the news of the Duke of *Monmouth's* disgrace; which though it came by some degrees, yet they were so sudden one after another, as to make it appear a lost game in the King's favour and resolutions. Though nothing could seem more reasonable than that which it ended in, that, while the Duke was abroad, the Duke of *Monmouth* should be so too; having made his pretensions so evident, and pursued them so much to the prejudice of the King's affairs; however, I could not but wonder, how the Duke had been able in so few days, or rather hours, to get so great a victory. I went within a day or two to *London*, found my Lord *Hallifax* in phyfic, but saw plainly his distemper was not what he called it; his head looked very full, but very unquiet; and when we were left alone, all our talk was by snatches; sickness, ill humour, hate of town and business, ridiculousness of human life; and whenever I turned any thing to the present affairs after our usual manner, nothing but action of hands or eyes, wonder, and signs of trouble, and then silence.

I came home, and satisfied enough upon what terms I was with my friends, though I knew not whence it came, or whither it went. But I soon found out the whole secret; which was, that, upon the King's first illness, the Lords *Essex* and *Hallifax*, being about him, thought his danger great, and their own so too; and that, if any thing happened to the King's life, the
Duke

Duke of *Monmouth* would be at the head of the nation, in opposition to the Duke upon pretence of Popery, and in conjunction with Lord *Shaftsbury*, who had threatened to have their heads upon prorogation of the last Parliament; which threat was applied by Lords *Essex* and *Hallifax* to themselves; reckoning Lord *Sunderland* out of danger by his relation to Lord *Shaftsbury*, and the fair terms that had always made between them. This fright had so affected these Lords, that, not staying to see what the King's second fit would be, they proposed to the King the sending immediately for the Duke; which being resolved, and the dispatch made with all the secrecy and speed imaginable, the Duke came over; but finding the King recovered, it was agreed to pass for a journey wholly of his own, and that it should be received by his Majesty and the three Lords with all signs of surprize. When this was done, they found the Duke of *Monmouth* so enraged at this council, as well as Lord *Shaftsbury*, that they saw no way but to ruin them both, and throw them quite out of the King's affairs, and joining themselves wholly with the Duke's interest; which they did for that time, till they had brought about all his Highness desired for his security against the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*; the first going over into *Holland*, and the other being turned out of the council.

For my own part, though I was glad of any mortification that happened to the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*, whose designs had run the kingdom into such incurable divisions and distractions, at a time that our union was so necessary to the affairs of Christendom abroad; yet I was spited to the heart, at the carriage of my friends towards me in this affair: and not so much for their taking such a resolution without my knowledge and concert (which they never had done since our first commerce) as for keeping me ignorant after the Duke's coming over; and so far, as to let me
make

make such a figure as I did, in doing all the good offices, and making all the court I could to the Duke, for Lords *Essex* and *Hallifax*, as I told them I would do; while they were both in the depth and secret of his interests and counsels; and I, who had reason to think myself well with his Highness, was left wholly out of all confidence both with him and with them. But I had reason to resent it yet further, when I found that some of them, perceiving the Duke much unsatisfied with the constitution of the new council, had, to make their own court, laid the whole load of it upon me; whereas, if my Lord Chancellor, Lord *Sunderland*, and Lord *Essex* had not fallen into it with the greatest applauses and endeavours in the world to finish the draught of it, the thing had certainly died; and for my own part, after I could not hinder my Lord *Shaftsbury's* being brought in, I would have been very well content it should.

I could not but tell my Lord *Sunderland* of these resentments; and that I found myself so unfit for Courts, that I was resolved to pass the rest of my life in my own domestic, without troubling myself further about any public affairs, than not to appear fullen in not coming sometimes to general councils: and that Lord *Essex* and *Hallifax's* carriage to me had been such, after having been the two men of *England* I had it in my power and my fortunes most to oblige, that I would never have any thing more to do with them. This I said only to one person more; and how it came to be known by their two Lordships, I cannot tell; but there all commerce between us ended, further than what was common when we met at council, or in third places; though Lord *Hallifax* came to an *eclaircissement* with me the spring after, which ended very well, and I did him the service I could upon occasion in the late house, as well as in council, upon their heats against him.

I passed the rest of the summer at home, and left the three Lords in the chief ministry and sole confidence, as outwardly appeared, both with the King and Duke: and Lord *Essex* told my brother Sir *John Temple* who was then here, that he had more credit with the King than all the rest of the Ministers, or any man in *England*: but the refined courtiers, who observe countenances and motions, had no opinion of it: and, soon after, Lord *Essex* and *Hallifax*, upon the private examination of an intrigue I could never make any thing of, nor thought worth my enquiry, which was commonly called the *meal-tub plot*, took such a distaste at finding themselves mentioned in it, and yet left out of the secret examinations about it, that the Duke was no sooner gone, but their discontents grew open against the Court; my Lord *Essex* left the treasury; Lord *Hallifax*, in discourse to me, commended him for it, and told me his resolution to go down into the country; and though he could not plant melons as I did, being in the *North*, yet he would plant carrots and cucumbers, rather than trouble himself any more about public affairs; and accordingly he went down to *Rufford*. To their nearer friends I heard they complained, that they found they had no sound part in the King's confidence or the Duke's; that they were but other men's dupes, and did other men's work; and that, finding no measures would be taken for satisfying and uniting the kingdom, they would have no more part in public affairs.

Upon Lord *Essex*'s leaving the treasury, Mr. * *Hyde* came of course to be first commissioner; and he and Mr. † *Godolphin* were brought into the council; where I met them the next time I came, and welcomed them, as two persons that had always been my friends, and agreed with me in all my opinions and measures about affairs

* Now Earl of *Rochester*.

† Now Earl of *Godolphin*.

affairs abroad, wherein only we had been conversant in our commerce, either at *Nimeguen*, the *Hague*, or at home. These two joined in confidence with Lord *Sunderland*; and the other two Lords being in discontent or absent, and I keeping at home both upon my resolution and inclination; these three were esteemed to be alone in the secret and management of the King's affairs, and looked upon as the ministry.

October came on, wherein the Parliament was to meet. The Duke was in *Flanders*: the Duke of *Monmouth* in *Holland*: Lord *Shaftsbury* endeavoured to inflame the reckoning of the late conduct and counsels against the sitting of the Parliament, and to set afoot petitions in case they did not sit: the Ministers were not able to stand the opening of the Parliament; and so a short prorogation was expected some days before that appointed for their assembly. I had not been at Court or council in a month or six weeks; when, being recovered of a fit of the gout, I came to town, and went to Lord *Sunderland*, talked to him of my several arrears in the treasury, desired his help, which he promised with great kindness, and went with me to the King, where we proposed and agreed the way of my satisfaction. The King seemed very kind to me, but neither one or t'other of them said a word to me of any public business. From the King's chamber we went to the council, where I expected nothing but such common things as I knew had passed for a good while before; and so all passed, till I thought the council was ending, when the King after a little pause told us, that upon many considerations, which he could not at present acquaint us with, he found it necessary to make a longer prorogation than he had intended of the Parliament: that he had considered all the consequences, so far as to be absolutely resolved, and not to hear any thing that should be said against it: that he would have it prorogued till that time twelvemonth;

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and

and charged my Lord Chancellor to proceed accordingly.

All at council were stunned at this surprising resolution, and the way of proposing it; except those few that were in the secret, and they thought fit to be silent, and leave the thing wholly upon his Majesty: several others rose up, and would have entered into the reasonings and consequences of it, but the King would not hear them, and so all debate ended. After which I rose, and told the King, That, as to the resolution he had taken, I would say nothing, because he was resolved to hear no reasoning upon it; therefore I would only presume to offer him my humble advice as to the course of his future proceedings; which was, that his Majesty in his affairs would please to make use of some council or other, and allow freedom to their debates and advices; after hearing which, his Majesty might yet resolve as he pleased: that, if he did not think the persons or number of this present council suited with his affairs, it was in his power to dissolve them, and constitute another of twenty, of ten, or of five, or any number he pleased, and to alter them again when he would; but to make Counsellors that should not counsel, I doubted whether it were in his Majesty's power or not, because it implied a contradiction; and so far as I had observed, either of former ages or the present, I questioned whether it was a thing had been practised in *England* by his Majesty's predecessors, or were so now by any of the present Princes of Christendom; and therefore I humbly advised him to constitute some such council, as he would think fit to make use of, in the digestion of his great and public affairs.

His Majesty heard me very graciously, and seemed not at all displeased with any thing I had said; nor any other person of the Lords of the council, but most very much to approve it: yet, after the council was up,

up, my Lord *Sunderland* came to me, told me, he was never so surpris'd as at what I had said, and expected it sooner from any man in *England* than me: that, whatever resolutions had been taken about my business in the treasury, he was sure nothing should be done. I replied, that, if he liked not what I said, he should have prevented it, by telling me, before I came to council, what was intended to be done; which if I had known, I would not have been there, no more than I had been so long before: and that, if my debt would not be paid, I must live the best I could without it.

Not long before, the Prince of *Orange* writ me word, how much he found the Duke unsatisfied with me, upon the belief that it was I had given the Prince those impressions and sentiments which he had upon the common affairs of Christendom; whereas, he could say on the contrary, that it was he had given me mine, and should never change his own till he were convinced *d'avoir tort* [*of being in the wrong*]: however, that he thought fit out of friendship to me, to give me this advice.

I was now in a posture to be admirably pleas'd with having part in public affairs. The Duke unsatisfied with me of late; the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* from the very first; Lord *Effex* and *Hallifax* out of all commerce with me upon what had pass'd; great civility from the other Ministers, but no communication; and the King himself, though very gracious, yet very reserved. Upon all this, and the melancholy prospect of our distractions at home, and thereupon the disasters threatening abroad: but chiefly upon my own native humour, born for a private life, and particular conversation or general leisure; I resolv'd to give over all part in public affairs, and came no more either to Court or council in a month's time, which I spent chiefly in the country.

In

In this time the Lord *Ruffel*, Lord * *Cavendish*, Sir *H. Capel*, and Mr. *Powle*, distasted at the late prorogation, as well as at the manner of it, and pretending to despair of being able to serve the King any longer, in a conduct of affairs so disagreeable to the general humour of the people; went to the King together, and desired his Majesty to excuse their attendance any more upon him at council, which the King very easily consented to, Lord *Salisbury*, Lord *Essex*, and Lord *Hallifax* seemed to have taken the same resolution, though not in so much form. Upon which I thought it might be a great prejudice to his Majesty's affairs, to be left by so many at once: and that, if I wholly gave over at the same time, it would look like entering into a faction, with persons who were only displeased with the present scene upon hopes of entering soon upon another, which was no part of my thoughts or designs. Therefore I resolved to go again to council, to shew I had not herded with those that had left it; and that my leaving it too might not occasion some men's greater distastes at the government.

In the intermission I had made, my wife, continuing her commerce with my Lady *Sunderland*, had met my Lord there; who, taking no notice of what had passed between us, asked her how I had proceeded in my business of the treasury, and whether I needed his help, which he offered with great friendliness if I had occasion. When I came up to town, and went the first time to council; after it was done, I went to Lord *Sunderland*, told him what regards towards his Majesty had made me come up, and gave him thanks for his offers to my wife: I found him returned to his first temper towards me; entered into common affairs, but always with professions of my resolutions to retire, and my thoughts of a journey into *Italy*, which I had long promised the Great Duke. I lived on with my Lord
Sunderland

* Late Duke of *Devonshire*.

Sunderland in all kindness, though not confidence, which was now wholly between him, and Mr. *Hyde*, and Mr. *Godolphin*. I made use of his offers, and by his help came to an issue in the most difficult point of my business in the treasury.

The second time I was at council, after my return from *Sheen*, my Lord *Sunderland* told me he was to say something to me from the King, and desired we might meet after council was up. I went to his lodgings; where he told me that Mr. Secretary *Coventry* being absolutely resolved to part with his place, and the King, having found I had long declined it, had now thoughts of consenting to Sir *Lionel Jenkins's* coming into it upon a bargain with the Secretary; but that the King would do nothing in it without first letting me know his thoughts; and asked whether I had any thing to say upon it. I made no stop in the world, but told his Lordship that the King could do nothing for me that I would take kinder than this; that I had several times pressed his Majesty to a new choice, and once offered to name some to him that I knew were fit for it; that I had resolved against it so long, that his Majesty had no reason to remember any of his engagements to me, how voluntary soever; but, that he was pleased to do it, was the most obliging in the world; and I was resolved immediately to go and make him my acknowledgments. I did so; they were extremely well taken, the King used me with great kindness; and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* came into the office.

I passed the winter in town, though with much indisposition; going sometimes to the council, and sometimes to the foreign committee, but not frequently to either, and meddling very little with any thing that passed there; unless it was what concerned the affairs of *Ireland*, which happened to be then hot upon the anvil; the Duke of *Ormond* and council of that kingdom, having transmitted several acts over to the council

cil here, both of grace and supplies, in order to a Parliament to be held in *Ireland*. This brought Lord *Essex* again into play, after so much discontent and so little attendance for several months at council: but his eye and heart had ever been bent upon his return to the government of *Ireland*; which made him steer all by that compass, and pursue Court or popular humour, as he thought either likeliest to further that end. Whenever the *Irish* acts came into council, he was sure to be there; first raising twenty difficulties in the particular acts, and arraigning not only the prudence, but common sense of the Lord-Lieutenant and council there; then arguing against the assembling a Parliament in that kingdom; and at last introducing Sir *James Sheen* to make proposals of increasing the King's revenue there near eighty thousand pounds a-year upon a new farm to himself and the company he offered to be joined with him: a farm indeed, as it was drawn up, not of the revenue, but of the Crown of *Ireland*.

This scheme was ever supported by Lord *Essex*; and ever opposed by me with more sharpness than was usual to me upon any debates; because I had found out the cheat of the whole thing, which Lord *Essex* had set on foot as a great master-piece of that cunning, which his friends used to say was his talent, and was one for which of all other talents I had ever the greatest aversion. The short of this story was, Lord *Essex* had a mind to be Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and to hinder any Parliament being called till he came to the government. He saw himself out at Court; and the hopes of getting in by his interest in Parliament, now delayed by the prorogation longer than he could stay: he projects this farm with Sir *James Sheen*, and by him offers it to Mr. *Hyde*, with the advantages mentioned to the King's revenue; but agrees with Sir *James*, that, if the bait were swallowed, he should, upon the conclusion of all, declare that he and his company were
ready

ready to perform all the conditions agreed on; but could not do it, unless my Lord *Essex* might be sent over Lieutenant of *Ireland*; without which the condition of that Kingdom could never be settled enough, for such advantages to the King's service and revenue.

This I knew under secrecy, from a confident of Sir *James Sheen*, who had told himself this whole project, and the paces intended.

Mr. *Hyde*, who was at the head of all matters concerning the King's revenue, had received this new proposal, and embraced it very warmly; whether prevailed upon by the specious shew of so great increases in the revenue, or by some new measures growing between him and Lord *Essex* in other affairs, I never could determine; but such a patronage at council gave strength to the debates, being little opposed but by Sir *Lionel Jenkins* and me, who laid the matter so bare, that it drew out into length that whole spring; and the King joined wholly with me in the opinion of the thing, and so far, that when it was come to council or committee, his Majesty sent particularly to me to be there.

In the midst of these agitations, the Duke came over out of *Flanders*, and resolution was taken for his going into *Scotland*. I was extremely concerned for the Duke of *Ormond*, who had fallen into danger of the consequences threatened by these intrigues and pursuits, after the most sensible blow that could be given him by the death of his * son; and was both of an age and merits to expect no more reverses of fortune, after so many as he had run through in the course of his loyalty. I saw Mr. *Hyde* violently bent upon Sir *James Sheen's* imaginary project; and I doubted, with some pique to the Duke of *Ormond*, and partiality to Lord *Essex*. The King seemed to grow weary of so much pursuit; and Lord *Sunderland* was indifferent in the thing:

* The Earl of *Osborn*.

thing: so that I resolved to try if I could not engage the Duke to support the Duke of *Ormond*; and the second time I was with his Highness, after his coming to court, I fell into this whole business and the consequences of it, and laid open the secret of the thing. The Duke seemed very favourable to Lord *Effex*, and more indifferent to the Duke of *Ormond* than I expected; which made me fall very freely into the character of them both, which the Duke seemed at last to allow with the distinction they deserved, and professed to desire the Duke of *Ormond* should be continued; tho', if he were removed at any time, he still seemed to think Lord *Effex* the fittest to succeed him. But I found, some days after, by Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, that his Highness had been very glad to find me so fixed in that business to the Duke of *Ormond*, and that he would give him what support he could.

Upon the motions of this affair, I grew into more attendance upon his Majesty, and more commerce both with Lord *Sunderland* and Mr. *Hyde*; with whom I always lived very well, though we differed so much in opinion upon this *Irish* business. But continuing still my resolutions of winding myself out of all public business; and to that end talking often to them of my design to make a journey to *Florence*, both upon occasion of my health and promise; they both proposed to me, if I had a mind to go into a hot country, to go into *Spain*, and do it with a character from the King, who was likely to have affairs there; rather than make a journey like young Gentlemen, only to see the country. I told them how unwilling I was to charge myself again with the ceremonies and fatigue of an embassy; or to run again the hazard I had done so often already, of being undone by those employments: that, if I could resolve on it, I did not see what affairs the King could have in *Spain*, whilst he had such as he seemed to have at present in *England*; nor could I see what

what use any leagues or measures abroad could be to him, unless some union at home would enable him to support them. This conversation, however, was often renewed between us; and, at last, I found out, that, to prepare for a good session of Parliament next winter, the Ministers were resolved upon all measures that might conduce towards it during the summer; and, as one of the chief, were resolved to send Ministers to *Spain*, *Denmark*, and other of the confederates, and enter with them into the strictest measures for the common defence against the power of *France*.

I found the Ministers were mighty earnest to engage me in this embassy, as believing my charging myself with it would give a general opinion, both at home and abroad, of our sincerity in the thing. the King spoke to me, and seemed very desirous of my undertaking it. I defended myself a good while, having indeed no opinion the thing had a good root, or that the appearance of it would have the effect hoped for, upon the next meeting of Parliament: but at last I brought it to this point, that I would not charge myself with going to make the intended alliance in *Spain*; but, if the King should think fit to conclude it here with the *Spanish* Ambassador upon terms of mutual satisfaction, I would be content to go and cultivate it in *Spain*. This was done by the Ministers; the King declared me his Ambassador extraordinary at *Madrid*; I passed my Privy-seal, received my equipage, and spent the latter end of the summer in the preparations for my journey, which were in a manner finished about the middle of *September*; when the King told me, that since the Parliament drew so near, and so much depended upon it of all that concerned him either abroad or at home, he was resolved to have me stay at least the opening of it, by which we should judge of the further progress.

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From what seeds the discontents and violent proceedings of this last session grew, I have told already; but by what motions and degrees they came to such a height is another story, and may have had some roots which I did not discover; but what I observed was this. After the Duke's return into *Flanders*, he had the King's leave to come over again in some months. The Duke of *Monmouth* came back out of *Holland* without leave, and so came not to Court; and thereby seemed to make himself the head of those that were discontented, either with the Duke's return, or the intermission of Parliament. In acting this part he was guided by Lord *Shaftsbury*, who resolved to blow up the fire as high as he could this summer; so as to make the necessity the greater of the Parliament sitting at the time appointed. And, because boldness looks like strength, to encourage his party with an opinion of both, he engaged several Lords, and among them Lord *Ruffel*, to go with him to *Westminster-hall* publicly, and there, at the King's bench, to present the Duke as a recusant. Though the matter had no consequences in the forms of the Court; yet it had a general one upon the minds of the people, and a strong one upon the passions of all those persons that were so publicly engaged in this bold pace against the Duke, which was breaking all measures with him, and entering into the desperate resolution of either ruining his Highness or themselves: and I found it had a great effect upon the small circle of my acquaintance or observation.

Lord *Essex*, who had pursued his return to the government of *Ireland* by engines at Court for six months past, began to let all that business of Sir *James Sheen* cool, and to reckon upon laying a surer foundation for that design, from the credit he intended to gain in the approaching Parliament. Upon this he began to fall into new commerce with Lord *Shaftsbury*, who told him in those shameless words, *My Lord, if you will*

will come into us, never trouble yourself, we'll make you Lieutenant of Ireland. The way to this return was to oppose the Duke's stay here upon the several passages he made, but chiefly upon that before the session of Parliament. Lord *Hallifax*, though he fell not in with Lord *Shaftsbury*, yet was glad to make fair weather against the Parliament met, by his oppositions to the Duke. Lord *Sunderland* was struck with the boldness of the Lords presentment in *Westminster-hall*, and the consequence of such men being so desperately engaged in an attempt wherein they were like to be seconded by the humour of the nation, upon the alarms of Popery; which made him conclude, the King would not be able to support the Duke any longer, but would be forced to separate his interests from him at last: and he believed the King himself was of the same mind. Mr. *Godolphin* fell into the same thoughts with Lord *Sunderland*, both of the thing itself, and of the King's mind in it: so as upon the debate in council, concerning the Duke's stay or going back into *Scotland* before the Parliament met, these four joined absolutely in the reasons and advices for his going away: and though the rest of the council were generally of the contrary opinion, yet the King fell in with these four, and concluded the thing, against the Duke's will and his friends, as I have been told: for during all these transactions I was in the country, with my thoughts and preparations wholly turned upon my *Spanish* embassy; and I was the willingest to be there, upon the resolution I had long been fixed in, never to enter into any differences or personal matters between the King and his brother.

The Duke went away, and the Parliament began, with the general knowledge, of so many great persons having appeared so publicly against his Highness in *Westminster-hall*, and so considerable ones in the Court itself and at the council table; those of the first gang fell

fell immediately into the cabals of Lords and Commons who framed the bill of exclusion; wherein they were desperately engaged, not only, as they professed, upon opinion of national ends, but likewise upon that of self-preservation, having broken irreparably all measures already with the Duke: the generality of the house of Commons were carried, partly with the plausibleness of the thing, calculated in appearance only against Popery, without any private ends as was pretended; and partly with the opinion of the King's resolution to fall into it, upon the observation of such Lords of the Court having engaged so far in sending away the Duke. All the Duke of *Monmouth's* friends drove it on violently; not doubting he would lie in the Duke's place, though no provision seemed to be made for that in the forms of the draught: and all these circumstances concurring, made so violent a torrent for carrying on this bill, as nothing could resist, or any ways divert; and as it happens upon all occasions, the small opposition, made by two or three men, made the violence the greater.

Besides these general circumstances, there were two more particular and personal, that seemed to me to have great influence upon the house: one was, Lord *Russel* setting himself, almost with affectation, at the head of this affair; who was a person in general repute of an honest worthy Gentleman, without tricks or private ambition, and who was known to venture as great a stake perhaps as any subject of *England*. The other was Sir *William Jones* entering upon it so abruptly and so desperately as he did, if I mistake not, the first day he came into the house (at least I have been told so, for I was not there) which was some time after the session began, having been engaged in a disputed election. And this person having the name of the greatest lawyer of *England*, and commonly of a very wise man; besides this, of a very rich, and of a
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wary or rather timorous nature; made people generally conclude that the thing was certain and safe, and would at last be agreed on all parts, whatever countenance were made at Court.

The bill passed the House of Commons, and was carried up by Lord *Russel* to the House of Lords; as I think, for I was not there at the house. But, in the house of Lords, it met with another kind of reception. The King was resolved, and declared against the bill: and though Lord *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Essex*, and, as I remember, about fifteen more, were violently for it; yet the rest of the house were firm and positive against it; among whom Lord *Hallifax* appeared most in the head of all debates; and so it was, after long contest, absolutely thrown out. This enraged the house of Commons; and, having failed of the only thing they seemed to have at heart, made them fall upon persons; engage first in the pursuit of Lord *Stafford* to the block, upon the score of the plot; and then in addresses, either upon general discontents in the public affairs, or upon common fame against particular men.

During the whole proceedings of this session of Parliament, I played a part, very impertinent for a man that had any designs or ambitions about him; but for me who had none (and whose head was fixed either upon my embassy into *Spain*, or upon my absolute retirement) the only one wherein I could have satisfied myself. As I never entered into public business by my own choice or pursuit, but always called into it by the King, or his ministers; so I never made the common use of it, by ever asking either money, lands, or honour of his Majesty; though I have been often enough urged to it by my friends, and invited by so great degrees of confidence and favour, as I have stood in with his Majesty both often and long. I never had my heart set upon any thing in public affairs, but the happiness of my country, and greatness of the Crown;
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and, in order to that, the union of both, by which alone I thought both could be atchieved. When I fell first into despair of this, I fell first into a distaste of all publick affairs; which has been nourished by a course of such accidents and turns of Court, and personal inconstancies or infidelities, as I have related. By what means I came to be so long engaged, as to see this session of Parliament, I have told; but it is not to be told, the vexation and trouble which the course of it gave me. I knew very well, that all the safety of *Flanders* and *Holland* depended upon the union of his Majesty with his Parliament, which might enable him to make such a figure in Christendom, as the Crown of *England* has done, and ought always to do. The *Dutch* had sent over Monsieur *Van Lewen* to make both Court and country sensible of this necessity that Christendom was in; and how much all would lie at the mercy of *France*, from the day they saw the hopes of it fail. The house of Commons met, with such a bent upon what they thought the chief of their home concerns, that the name of any thing foreign would not be allowed among them; nay, the mention of *Spanish* leagues, alliances with *Holland*, and measures intended by the King with other confederates, were laughed at, as Court-tricks, and too stale to pass any more. They fell downright upon a point invincible, which was the bill of exclusion; and in default of that, upon heats against the government and the ministers, not without some glancing at the King. This was returned with heats at Court by those ministers that were chiefly touched; which were Lord *Hallifax*, who, by a sudden turn, whereof I know no account, had at the beginning of the session fallen into the open defence of the Duke's interests; and Mr. *Hyde*, who, by his relation to the Duke, and by his education wholly at Court, was ever reckoned upon as well as found to be first in that point. Though I did not find by them,

them, that they thought it would be to much purpose ; only they promised to agree with the King upon the draught of some expedients in the case, which Lord *Hallifax* had charged himself with, and should be charged with to the house of Lords, during the heats of the Commons.

For my own part, so soon as I saw the bent of the house of Commons, the violence with which it was carried, and the distractions it was like to engage the kingdom in, at a time they were so little in season ; I gave over first all hopes, and then all thoughts upon so unpleasant a theme. In the business of the bill I never meddled, nor so much as reasoned either in or out of the house ; having declared my opinion to the King and his ministers, that it was to no purpose to oppose it there ; nor for the King to take notice of the Commons address upon it, further than to let them know, that whenever any bills, or any addresses upon things of that nature, were brought to him from both houses, he would answer them. By this means I thought the King was sure of his end ; for the bill would certainly fall as often as it came into the house of Lords ; and, if he should be forced to break the Parliament, it would be better done upon invincible difference between the two houses, than upon any between his Majesty and the house of Commons. But this opinion was not agreed to by the chief ministers. After that, I pressed both the King and them to bring such expedients as they told me were resolved on ; that so we might make all the strength we could to support them in the house of Commons, and thereby reduce things to some temper ; but these, though daily talked of, never appeared. I went not often, either to the house or council ; but when I did, and thought it to any purpose, I endeavoured to allay the heats on either side ; and told the King I expected to be turned out of the house in the morning, and out of the council

cil in the afternoon. Mr. *Hyde* asked me one day in the council-chamber, why I came so seldom to the house or council; I told him, 'twas upon *Solomon's* advice, *neither to oppose the mighty, nor go about to stop the current of a river*: upon which he said, I was a wise and a quiet man; and, if it were not for some circumstances he could not help, he would do so too.

I do not remember to have spoken in the house, but upon the motion of supplies for *Tangier* *; upon the digestion of the first address about general grievances; and in the cases of my Lord Chief-Justice *North*, and my Lord *Hallifax* being impeached upon common fame: nor at any general councils, unless it were upon the house of Commons address against Lord *Hallifax*, and upon a debate about dissolving the Parliament; wherein I desired the King and council never to lay aside the thoughts and endeavours of agreeing either with this or some other Parliament, as a matter of so great necessity to the state of his Majesty's affairs both abroad and at home. Lord *Hallifax* answered me in few words, that every body was sensible of the necessity of the King's agreeing with his Parliaments, though not with this: and † Mr. *Seymour* told me, he perfectly agreed with me in what I had said. The last thing I did, in house or council, was to carry the King's last answer to the Commons, containing his resolutions never to consent to the exclusion of the Duke; ‡ which Secretary *Jenkins* had been charged with the night before at council: but he was thought too unacceptable to the house, it seems, for a message that was like to prove so; and next morning the King would have had Sir *Robert Carr*, or Mr. *Godolphin* have carried it, but they both excused themselves; upon which the King sent for me.

* See the appendix.

† Afterwards Sir *E. Seymour*.

‡ See the appendix.

I told his Majesty, I did not very well understand why a thing, agreed upon last night at council-table, should be altered in his chamber; but that I was very willing however to obey him, and the rather upon others having excused themselves; and to shew his Majesty that I intended to play no popular games: upon which I took the paper, and told the King that I was very sensible how much of his confidence I formerly had, and how much I had lost, without knowing the occasion; or else I might have had part in the consulting this change of what was last night resolved, as well as in executing it; and I would confess to his Majesty, that I had not so good a stomach in business, as to be content only with *swallowing what other people had chewed*. Upon which I went away; and carried my message to the house, which was received just as was expected. I tell this passage freely, as I do all the rest; as the only thing I could imagine the King could ever take ill of me; and yet I know not how it could be a fault, more than in a point of manners neither, or the homeliness of expression.

That, which completed my resolution of recess from all public business, was to find, as I thought, very plainly, that both parties, who could agree in nothing else, yet did it in this one point, of bringing things to the last extremity. Lord *Shaftsbury* and his party thought the points of popular discontents and petitions, or at least that of the King's wants, would at last bring the Court to their mercy in one Parliament or other. Those Ministers, who were past all measures with the house of Commons, thought there was no way, but by their heats, to bring the King to a dislike, and thereby to a disuse of Parliaments. And by this likewise the Duke's interest seemed at present only to be secured. So that, where both parties consented in dividing to extremity on each side, no man could think any longer of uniting; nor consequently

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quently to see the Crown in such a posture as I had ever wished it, and for our neighbours sakes as well as our own.

I found this yet more evident at the last debates, during my assistance at the foreign committee, concerning the answer his Majesty should return to the repeated addresses of the house of Commons, relating to the bill of exclusion. I was of opinion it should be, that, when both houses agreed upon an address to this purpose, he would give them an answer; but till then would suspend it, and not send a positive answer to one house upon so weighty an occasion, which for aught he knew might be contrary to the sense of the other. By this means he would be secure from the necessity of any direct breach with the Commons; since he knew well enough, the Lords would not consent to the address. And, if the Parliament came to be dissolved, it were better for the King it should break upon differences between the two houses, than between his Majesty and them. For this would give the nation an opinion, that he was resolved to live without Parliaments hereafter; which might endanger perhaps our peace at home, but would however ruin the hopes of our neighbours abroad, who had no other of defending themselves against *France*, but by the power of *England*: that, if this Parliament broke upon disputes or differences between the two houses, it might yet be expected he would call another, and perhaps a third, and agree with some of them, by which alone he could be *Great* and safe both at home and abroad. For it was between the King and his Parliament, as between the mountain and *Mabomet*, who told the people what miracles he would do when he was at the top of the mountain; and to that purpose he would on such a day call it to him: he did so, but the mountain would not come; whereupon he said, that, if the mountain would not come to *Mabomet*, he would go

to the mountain ; for, unless they both met, no wonders could be done. The King seemed pleased with all I said, and with the comparison ; but those of the committee, that were chief in the private measures taken at this time, were for a positive answer to be given the house of Commons, let them take it how they pleased ; and accordingly this was resolved.

However, all these considerations or interests could not move the King to dissolve this Parliament, without calling another at the same time to meet at *Oxford* in the spring. Whereupon, the heads of the university at *Cambridge* sent to me, to know whether I intended to stand again for that election : I went to the King to acquaint him with it, and know his pleasure what answer I should return them : he seemed at first indifferent, and bid me do what I would : but when I said I was very indifferent too, and would do in it what his Majesty liked best ; he said, in a manner kind and familiar, that, considering how things stood at this time, he doubted my coming into the house would not be able to do much good ; and therefore he thought it as well for me to let it alone ; which I said I would do.

When I left the King I went to my Lord *Sunderland*, and told him what had passed ; who took this as the first certain sign of his Majesty's having fixed his resolution, and left off all thoughts of agreeing with his Parliaments, and of his having taken his measures another way, for the supply of his treasures in the ill condition they were in. He knew very well, that, during the last session, the King had always told me, that he was resolved to propose some expedients to the houses upon which he had hopes they might agree : that he had ordered Lord *Hallifax* to draw them up, and had bid me reserve my credit in the house for that occasion : and that, if there were any thoughts of agreeing with the next Parliament, the King he was sure would

would have been glad to have had me in the house. He said upon it, in some passion, that he now gave all for gone, and that he must confess I knew the King better than he had done; and so we parted.

Within few days, employed wholly in my domestic concerns, and in order to the remove I intended, I left the town and went to *Sheen*: from whence I sent the King word by my son, that I would pass the rest of my life like as good a subject as any he had; but that I would never meddle any more with any public affairs; and desired his Majesty would not be displeased with this resolution. The King very graciously bid him tell me, that he was not angry with me, no not at all.

I had not been above a week at *Sheen*, when my Lady *Northumberland* (who lived then at *Sion*) came to my closet one morning, and told me, that, the day before, my Lord *Sunderland*, my Lord *Essex's* names, and mine, were struck out of the council; which was the first word I heard of any such thing; and upon which I neither made any reflexions nor inquiries; though many others seemed much to wonder, and inquired of me what could be the reason of my being joined with the other two Lords whose proceedings had been very different.

My Lord *Sunderland* was, during the late session of Parliament, fallen under a great displeasure of his Majesty; and into an outrageous quarrel with Lord *Hallifax*. The last happened, not only upon their dividing in the businesses of the Parliament and council, but likewise upon Lord *Sunderland's* entering into new commerce and measures with Lord *Sbastisbury*; as my Lord *Hallifax* told me, and which I should not have otherwise known; for, if there were any such commerce, Lord *Sunderland* had made it a secret to me; as knowing too well the aversion I always had for that Lord, and the whole course of his proceedings in all public

public affairs. But Lord *Sunderland* told me another reason of the quarrel between him and Lord *Hallifax*; which he said broke out the same night a debate arose at council, concerning an address of the house of Commons against Lord *Hallifax*, wherein Lord *Sunderland* had been of opinion, the King should not yield to it. But, after council, Lord *Hallifax* went to Lord *Sunderland*'s lodgings, where they fell into discourse of what had passed; and Lord *Sunderland* told him, that though he had given his opinion at council, as he thought became him; yet, if such an address should ever be made against himself, he would certainly desire leave of the King to retire, as a thing that would be for his service. Upon this Lord *Hallifax* fell into such a passion, that he went out of the room, and from that time they hardly lived in any common civility where they met.

The refiners thought Lord *Hallifax*, who saw himself topped by Lord *Sunderland*'s credit and station at Court, resolved to make this sudden turn of falling in with the King, upon the point then in debate about the bill of exclusion, wherein he found the King steady, and that my Lord *Sunderland* would lose himself; so that, falling into confidence with the King upon such a turn, he should be alone chief in the ministry, without competitor. At least the reasoners on this matter could find no other ground for such a change in Lord *Hallifax*'s course, after what he had so long steered, and so lately in having been the chief promoter of the Duke's being sent away to *Scotland*, just before the meeting of the Parliament.

The King's quarrels to my Lord *Sunderland*, as far as I could observe, were chiefly two: first, his voting in the Lord's house for the bill of exclusion, not only against the King's mind, but against his express command; which, for a person actually in his service, and in such a post as Secretary of state, seemed something extraordinary

extraordinary. And I remember, when I spoke to him of it, as what the King must resent, and what I was confident he would be steady in, he told me 'twas too late, for his honour was engaged, and he could not break it. The other was a memorial, sent over by Mr. *Sidney* the King's envoy at the *Hague*, and given him by the Pensioner *Fagel*, representing the sad consequences abroad, of his Majesty's not agreeing with his Parliaments; the danger of his allies, and of the Protestant religion; and thereupon, though not directly, yet seeming to wish that the King would not break with them, though it were even upon the point of the bill of exclusion. This was, as I remember, the substance; for I never heard a word of it, either before or after its being received at the foreign committee; where I was as much surpris'd at it as any one there, but had not the same thoughts of its original, as I find some other of the Lords had. For they believed it a thing directed and advised from hence; and, in a word, by Lord *Sunderland* to Mr. *Sidney* his uncle, as a matter that would be of weight to induce the King to pass the bill. But besides that, Lord *Sunderland* protested to me, after council, that he knew nothing of it, till he received a copy from Mr. *Sidney*, who sent the original to the other Secretary; I thought he could not understand the King so ill, as to believe, that would be a motive to him to pass the bill, or that it could have any other effect than to anger him at the *Dutch*, for meddling in a matter that was domestic, not only to the nation, but to the Crown. Besides, I observed the style to be of one that understood little of our constitution, by several expressions in the paper; whereof one was, why the King should not prevent such consequences, when he might do it *par un trait de plume* [by a stroke with a pen;] which shewed, the author thought our acts of Parliament had been passed by the King's signing them.

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This, and the whole cast of it, made me believe it certainly came from the Pensioner *Fagel*; a man of great piety and zeal in his religion, mightily concerned for all he thought would endanger it; and besides, of great warmth and suddenness in pursuing any thought that possessed him. However, the King, as well as some of the committee, believed this was of my Lord *Sunderland*'s forge; and that many of the heats in the house of Commons had been encouraged and raised to such height by his seeming to favour them; which they might think he would not do, unless he believed the King would at length comply with them.

These, I suppose, were the reasons of the resolution taken at Court to remove Lord *Sunderland*, both from the Secretary's office and the council. What made my Lord *Essex* be joined with him is a great deal more obvious; having ever since meeting of the Parliament run up in the greatest heights and nearest measures with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*, both in the bill of exclusion, and all other matters where he interveened, either in debates of Parliament or of council; either concerning the bill, or several addresses against Ministers. How I came to be joined with these two Lords, by the King's ordering our names to be struck out of the council-book at the same time, I neither know, nor could ever give any reason, unless it were, what was commonly guessed, of my being a friend of the Prince of *Orange*, or of my Lord *Sunderland*, with whom I had a very long acquaintance, and of our families, as well as personal. For the first, I could think it no crime, considering how little that Prince had ever meddled, at least to my knowledge, in any domestic concerns of his Majesty, during all that passed since the first heats in Parliament here, though he had been extreme sensible of the consequences they were like to have upon all his interests, and nearest concerns at home; which were, the preservation

tion of *Flanders* from the *French* conquests, and thereby of *Holland* from falling by sudden treaties into an absolute dependence upon that Crown.

I can give no other reason, unless it were, that as my Lord *Salisbury* had been struck out some days before, upon his having declared at council, that he would come there no more; so his Majesty and his ministers might think, that upon my having taken the same resolution as to that, and all public affairs, tho' signified only in private to his Majesty, and with all the good manners that could be; yet it would be better for the King's affairs, that I should be known to be put out of the council, than to have quitted it of myself.

Nor was this resolution of mine taken in any heat, or rashly, but upon the best considerations and knowledge I had gained, both of the world, and of myself: by which I found, as *Sancho* did by governing his island, that he was not fit to govern any thing but his sheep: so, by serving long in Courts, or public affairs, I discovered plainly, that I was, at my age, and in the present conjunctures, fit for neither one nor t'other.

I considered the world in the present posture of affairs, both abroad and at home: I knew very well the great designs of *France*, whereof the plan was drawn by Cardinal *Richelieu*, for the conquest of *Flanders*, and that part of *Germany* which lies on this side of the *Rhine*. How, upon this view, he had seized *Lorraine*, and engaged in a war with *Spain*. How he practised the *Dutch* into a treaty for the division of *Flanders* between them, till the States soon found the false pace they had made, by an agreement to share with the lion, who thereupon would be soon master, both of the prey and of them. Hereupon they broke off this confederacy on the sudden, quitted the *French* in the midst of so great success, and had thereby almost occasioned

casioned the ruin of the *French* army at *Tirlemont*. I knew by tradition from a noble family, how that Cardinal had sent a private emissary, to endeavour the same measures with King *Charles* the first; or at least for his being passive in their conquest of *Flanders*. How that King had refused the first; and, being pressed upon the other, had answered resolutely, and bid him tell the Cardinal, that he would never suffer the conquest of *Flanders*; and, if the *French* attempted it, he would march himself in person to defend it. Upon this answer, the Cardinal replied to the Gentleman that brought it, *L'a t'il dit? par Dieu il me le payera bien*, [*Did he say so? by G—d I'll make him pay dear for it*]; and therefore entered immediately into practices with some discontented Nobles of *Scotland* then at *Paris*; sent over two hundred thousand pistoles to others in that kingdom, and gave thereby a beginning to the first troubles that were raised there. From which time, the business of *France* has ever been to foment all divisions of *England*, whose interest they saw would be ever to cross their great design. However, Cardinal *Mazarin*, after having surmounted his own dangers in *France*, and the difficulties incident to a minority; pursued the plan left him by his predecessor: and by his measures taken with *Cromwell*, and the assistance of an immortal body of six thousand brave *English*, which were by agreement to be continually recruited, he made such a progress in *Flanders*, that *Cromwell* soon found the balance turned, and grown too heavy on the *French* side: whereupon he dispatched a Gentleman privately to *Madrid*, to propose there a change of his treaty with *France* into one with *Spain*, by which he would draw his forces over into their service, and make them ten thousand to be continually recruited, upon condition their first action should be to besiege *Calais*, and, when taken, to put it into his hands. The Gentleman, sent upon this errand, was

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past the *Pyrenees*, when he was overtaken by the news of *Cromwell's* death ; whereupon *Mazarin*, having not only lost his strongest support in *Flanders*, but observed how that design would never be served by any measures he could take in *England*, however it should be governed, by the most legal or most usurped powers, he resolved upon a peace with *Spain* ; and made it at the *Pyrenees*, against the general sense, both of the chief persons in the Court and the army, but particularly against the instances of Monsieur *De Turenne*, who engaged himself to conquer all that was left of *Flanders* in two campaigns more : but some domestic reasons prevailed with the Cardinal ; besides his age and great infirmities, which ended his life not long after the peace was made.

The present King, left in full peace with all his neighbours, in the flower of his youth, and instructed in the school of so able a Minister, began to pursue the great design, by the three paces most necessary to advance it ; which were, the wise management of his revenue, and heaping up a mass of treasure : the increase of his naval force, by building many great ships, and buying others from the *Dutch* ; and by the purchase of *Dunkirk* in the year 1662, without which he could not have aspired to the conquest of *Flanders*, or to his greatness at sea ; having no other haven upon the channel : after this, by fomenting on both sides the seeds of dissention between us and the *Dutch*, which were sprung from other covered roots. He saw us engaged in a war with *Holland* in 1665, and with such honour and successes, that the *Dutch* would soon have been forced to a peace, had not *France* first assisted them at land, against the Bishop of *Munster* ; and then declared war against us, and set out his fleet for assisting the *Dutch*. This made the war more equally balanced, and thereby last, till *France*, taking advantage at our division, invaded *Flanders* ; and, by a surprise
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of the unprepared *Spaniards*, in two campaigns, carried the most considerable frontier places on both sides, as *Doway*, *Lisle*, *Tournay*, on the one side, *Charleroy* and *Aeth* on the other; by which they left the rest of *Flanders* at the mercy of another campaign. The *Dutch* were alarmed at these successes of so mighty a neighbour so near their own doors; and we were spited at the *French* having declared war against us, in favour of *Holland*, contrary to our expectations; and both together contributed to the peace at *Breda* in the end of the year 1667, and to our leagues with *Holland* with the triple alliance in 1668, for defence of the *Spanish Netherlands*. Upon our peace with *Holland*, *France* stopped their career in *Flanders*, and made overtures of peace with *Spain*; by the offer of an alternative, either to retain their conquests in *Flanders*, or else the whole county of *Burgundy*. We and *Holland* forced in *Spain* to accept one of them; and the *Spaniards* spited at this hardship upon them, from neighbours, who, they thought, had as much interest as they to preserve *Flanders*, chose the worst, which was to leave the frontiers of *Flanders* in the *French* hands, on purpose to give us and *Holland* the greater jealousy of *France*, and in hopes thereby to engage us all in a war with that Crown. And upon these terms the peace was made at *Aix-la-Chapelle* in 1668.

After this, *France* turned all their counsels to break the measures between us and *Holland*, which gave a stop to their great design. The *Dutch* were stanch; but we gave way by the corruption of our Ministers, and the *French* practices upon the dispositions of our Court; which at length engaged us in a joint war of both Crowns upon *Holland* in 1672, to the amazement of all men both abroad and at home, and almost to the utter ruin of that State; till the empire and *Spain*, roused by the danger of *Holland*, which must have ended in that of *Flanders*, and all the German provinces

provinces on this side the *Rhine*, entered boldly into the war, for the assistance of the *Dutch*; which gave them some breath, and carried the scene of the war into *Flanders* and *Germany*. At the same time, the discontent of the people and Parliament at the war, and the necessity of declaring it against *Spain* as well as *Holland*, if we continued longer in it, prevailed with the King to make a separate peace with *Holland* in 1673, and to offer his mediation to all the parties engaged in the war; which ended in the treaty of *Nimeguen*, and at last in a peace there, concluded in 1678; whereby a frontier was left to the *Spanish Netherlands* on the *Brabant* side, by restitution of *Aeth* and *Charleroy*, to satisfy the *Dutch*; but all that remained on the side of *Flanders*, after the peace of *Aix*, as *Cambray*, *Air*, *St. Omer*, with many others taken by *France* in the last war, were by this treaty left in their possession; besides great pretences by dependencies, both in *Flanders* and *Alsace*; so as *Flanders* was left at their mercy, whenever we or *Holland* should abandon its defence. And, finding both nations in general but too sensible of our interest on that side, the councils of *France* began new practices upon our Court, wherein they were encouraged by our factions, and the necessities of money, into which they had drawn the King.

These were the progresses which *France* had made in their great design, by two wars, and two general treaties of peace; whereof that at *Nimeguen* seemed more victorious than their arms had been. But they had made another, yet more important than either, by their practices upon the Elector and Chapter of *Cologne*, having gained the majority of voices there for the succession of Prince *William* of *Furstemburg* to that principality, whenever the present Elector should fail, who is old and infirm, and has, for some years past, deceived the world by living so long. Prince *Wil-*

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liam, though a *German*, yet having long devoted himself to the *French* Interests, and been refuged and supported by that Crown against the indignation and revenge of the Emperor, is as much a *Frenchman* as any Bishop of that kingdom; so as, whenever he comes to the Electorate, *France* will be absolute master of that principality; and thereby cast shackles, not only upon the other Princes of the *Rhine*, but upon *Holland* too, both by cutting off their trade upon the *Rhine*, and by bordering upon their inland provinces, which are most exposed and hard to be defended: 'tis said, he is likewise assured of the Chapter of *Liege*, in favour of the same Prince; which if true, and this principality fall likewise under the same dominion, upon the death of the present Elector, *France* will then surround the frontiers of *Brabant*, and cut off all commerce, or means of defence between them and *Luxembourg*; that they will not have above the work of one campaign to draw the net over the rest of *Flanders*, and reduce all the great cities there; after which, the rest must follow, and thereby *Holland* be left to take what measures they can with *France*, and become at best a maritime province to that Crown; though, perhaps, under the name of a free State, (for fear of dispeopling their country) but with such dependence as will leave *France* the use both of their ships and money, upon occasion, in other parts. Whenever this happens, what condition *England* will be left in, upon such an increase of the *French* territory and land, as well as naval power, is easy to conjecture, but hard, how it can be prevented, otherwise than by our vigorous conjunction of counsels, as well as interests, with all the late confederates; and by a firm union between the Court and the nation upon one common bottom, both at home and abroad, and chiefly for the preservation of *Flanders* against the *French* designs.

I easily discovered how fit a posture we were in to engage in such resolutions. The nation divided into two strong factions with the greatest heats and animosities, and ready to break out into violence upon the first occasion. The heads on both sides desiring it, as grown past all temper or composure. The King involved in such necessities and disorders of his revenue, as, if he could not hope supplies from Parliaments, would throw him upon seeking them from *France*; which would end in such measures with that Crown, as would leave them at liberty to pursue their great design by new attempts upon their neighbours; who, without the support of *England*, must give way, either by weak defences, or submissive treaties.

Upon the survey of all these circumstances, conjunctures, and dispositions, both at home and abroad, I concluded in cold blood, that I could be of no further use or service to the King my master, and my country, whose true interests I always thought were the same, and would be both in danger when they came to be divided, and for that reason had ever endeavoured the uniting them; and had compassed it, if the passions of some few men had not lain fatally in the way, so as to raise difficulties that I saw plainly were never to be surmounted. Therefore, upon the whole, I took that firm resolution, in the end of the year 1680, and the interval between the *Westminster* and *Oxford* Parliaments, never to charge myself more with any public employments; but retiring wholly to a private life, in that posture, take my fortune with my country, whatever it should prove: which as no man can judge, in the variety of accidents that attend human affairs, and the chances of every day, to which the greatest lives, as well as actions, are subject; so I shall not trouble myself so much as to conjecture: *facta viam inveniant.*

Besides

Besides all these public circumstances, I considered myself in my own humour, temper, and dispositions, which a man may disguise to others, though very hardly, but cannot to himself. I had learned by living long in Courts and public affairs, that I was fit to live no longer in either. I found the arts of a Court were contrary to the frankness and openness of my nature; and the constraints of public business too great for the liberty of my humour and my life. The common and proper ends of both are the advancement of men's fortunes; and that I never minded, having as much as I needed, and, which is more, as I desired. The talent of gaining riches I ever despised, as observing it to belong to the most despicable men in other kinds: and I had the occasions of it so often in my way, if I would have made use of them, that I grew to disdain them, as a man does meat that he has always before him. Therefore, I never could go to service for nothing but wages, nor endure to be fettered in business when I thought it was to no purpose. I knew very well the arts of a Court are, to talk the present language, to serve the present turn, and to follow the present humour of the Prince, whatever it is: of all these I found myself so incapable, that I could not talk a language I did not mean, nor serve a turn I did not like, nor follow any man's humour wholly against my own. Besides, I have had, in twenty years experience, enough of the uncertainty of Princes, the caprices of fortune, the corruption of ministers, the violence of factions, the unsteadiness of counsels, and the infidelity of friends; nor do I think the rest of my life enough to make any new experiments.

For the ease of my own life, if I know myself, it will be infinitely more in the retired, than it has been in the busy scene: for no good man can, with any satisfaction, take part in the divisions of his country, that knows and considers, as I do, what they have cost

cost *Athens, Rome, Constantinople, Florence, Germany, France and England*; nor can the wisest man foresee how ours will end, or what they are like to cost the rest of Christendom as well as ourselves. I never had but two aims in public affairs; one, to see the King great, as he may be by the hearts of his people, without which I know not how he can be great by the constitutions of this kingdom: the other, in case our factions must last, yet to see a revenue established for the constant maintaining a fleet of fifty men of war, at sea or in harbour, and the seamen in constant pay; which would be at least our safety from abroad, and make the Crown still considered in any foreign alliances, whether the King and his Parliaments should agree or not in undertaking any great or national war. And such an establishment I was in hopes the last Parliament at *Westminster* might have agreed in with the King, by adding so much of a new fund to three hundred thousand pounds a-year out of the present customs. But these have both failed, and I am content to have failed with them.

And so I take leave of all those airy visions which have so long busied my head about mending the world; and at the same time, of all those shining toys or follies that employ the thoughts of busy men: and shall turn mine wholly to mend myself; and, as far as consists with a private condition, still pursuing that old and excellent counsel of *Pythagoras*, that we are, with all the cares and endeavours of our lives, to avoid diseases in the body, perturbations in the mind, luxury in diet, factions in the house, and seditions in the State.



THE

THE
APPENDIX.

Containing the Pieces referred to in
these MEMOIRS.

*A Declaration relating to the Establishment of the
New Privy-Council, mentioned Page 415.*

At the Court at Whitehall, the 21st April 1679.

P R E S E N T,

The K I N G's most Excellent MAJESTY in Council.

*HIS Majesty, having caused the Privy-Council to meet
yesterday extraordinary, was then pleased to order the Lord
Chancellor of England to read to them the following declaration.*

My LORDS,

HIS Majesty hath called you together, at this time, to
communicate to you a resolution he hath taken, in
a matter of great importance to his Crown and
government; and which, he hopes, will prove of
the greatest satisfaction and advantage to his kingdoms, in all
affairs hereafter, both at home and abroad; and therefore he
doubts not of your approbation, however you may seem con-
cerned in it.

In the first place, His Majesty gives you all thanks for your
service to him here, and for all the good advices you have gi-
ven him; which might have been more frequent, if the great
number of this council had not made it unfit for the secrecy
and dispatch that are necessary in many great affairs. This for-
ced him to use a smaller number of you in a foreign commit-

tee; and sometimes the advices of some few among them (upon such occasions) for many years past. He is sorry for the ill success he has found in this course, and sensible of the ill posture of affairs from that and some unhappy accidents, which have raised great jealousies and dissatisfaction among his good subjects; and thereby left the Crown and government in a condition too weak for those dangers we have reason to fear, both at home and abroad.

These, his Majesty hopes, may be yet prevented, by a course of wise and steady counsels for the future; and these kingdoms grow again to make such a figure as they have formerly done in the world; and as they may always do, if our union and conduct were equal to our force. To this end, he hath resolved to lay aside the use he may have hitherto made of any single ministry or private advices, or foreign committees, for the general direction of his affairs: and to constitute such a Privy-council, as may not only, by its number, be fit for the consultation and digestion of all business, both domestic and foreign, but also by the choice of them, out of the several parts this State is composed of, may be the best informed in the true constitutions of it, and thereby the most able to counsel him in all the affairs and interests of this Crown and nation. And, by the constant advice of such a council, his Majesty is resolved hereafter to govern his kingdoms; together with the frequent use of his great council of Parliament, which he takes to be the true antient constitution of this state and government.

Now, for the greater dignity of this council, his Majesty resolves their constant number shall be limited to thirty; and, for their greater authority, there shall be fifteen of his chief officers, who shall be Privy counsellors by their places; and, for the other fifteen, he will chuse ten out of the several ranks of the Nobility, and five Commoners of the realm, whose known abilities, interests, and esteem in the nation, shall render them without suspicion of either mistaking or betraying the true interest of the kingdom, and consequently of advising him ill.

In the first place, therefore, and to take care of the church, his Majesty will have the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Bishop of *London*, for the time being. And, to inform him well in what concerns the laws, the Lord Chancellor, and one of the Lord Chief Justices. For the navy and stores, (wherein consists the chief strength and safety of the kingdom) the Ad-
miral

miral and Master of the ordnance. For the treasury, the Treasurer and Chancellor of the exchequer (or whenever any of these charges are in commission, then the first Commissioner to serve here in their room :) the rest of the fifteen shall be the Lord Privy Seal, the Master of the horse, Lord-Steward, and Lord-Chamberlain of his household, the Groom of the stole, and the two Secretaries of State: and these shall be all the offices of his kingdom, to which the dignity of a Privy-Counsellor shall be annexed. The others his Majesty has resolved, and hopes he has not chosen ill. His Majesty intends, besides, to have such Princes of his blood, as he shall at any time call to this board, being here in Court: a President of the council, whenever he shall find it necessary: and the Secretary of *Scotland*, when any such shall be here. But these being uncertain, he reckons not of the constant number of thirty, which shall never be exceeded.

To make way for this new council, his Majesty hath now resolved to dissolve this old one; and does hereby dissolve it, and from this time excuses your further attendance here: but with his repeated thanks for your service hitherto, and with the assurance of his satisfaction in you, so far that he should not have parted with you, but to make way for this new constitution, which he takes to be, as to the number and choice, the most proper and necessary for the uses he intends them. And as most of you have offices in his service, and all of you particular shares in his favour and good opinion, so he desires you will continue to exercise and deserve them, with the same diligence and good affections that you have hitherto done; and with confidence of his Majesty's kindness to you, and of those testimonies you shall receive of it upon other occasions.

Therefore upon the present dissolution of this council, his Majesty appoints and commands all those officers he hath named, to attend him here to-morrow, at nine in the morning, as his Privy-Council; together with those other persons he designs to make up the number, and to each of whom he has already signed particular letters to that purpose; and commands the Lord Chancellor to see them issued out accordingly; which is the form he intends to use, and that hereafter they shall be signed in council, so that nothing may be done unadvisedly, in the choice of any person, to a charge of so great dignity, and importance to the kingdom.

And, in pursuance thereof, his Majesty did this day declare, that he had made choice of the several persons hereafter named, to be of his Privy-Council. *The*

*The Names of the Lords of his MAJESTY'S
most Honourable Privy-Council.*

HIS Highness Prince Rupert.

Dr. William Sancroft Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,
Heneage Lord Finch, Lord Chancellor of England.

Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury, Lord President of the council.

Arthur Earl of Anglesea, Lord Privy Seal.

Christopher Duke of Albemarle.

James Duke of Monmouth, Master of the horse.

Henry Duke of Newcastle.

John Duke of Lauderdale, Secretary of State for Scotland.

James Duke of Ormond, Lord Steward of the household.

Charles Lord Marquis of Winchester.

Henry Lord Marquis of Worcester.

Henry Earl of Arlington, Lord Chamberlain of the household.

James Earl of Salisbury.

John Earl of Bridgewater.

Robert Earl of Sunderland, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Arthur Earl of Essex, first Lord Commissioner of the treasury.

John Earl of Bath, Groom of the stole.

Thomas Lord Viscount Falconberg.

George Lord Viscount Halifax.

Henry Lord Bishop of London.

John Lord Roberts.

Denzil Lord Hollis.

William Lord Russell.

William Lord Cavendish.

Henry Coventry Esq; one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Sir Francis North, Kt. Lord Chief-Justice of the common pleas.

Sir Henry Cappel, Kt. of the Bath, first Commissioner of the admiralty.

Sir John Ernley, Kt. Chancellor of the exchequer.

Sir Thomas Chicheley, Kt. Master of the ordnance.

Sir William Temple, Baronet.

Edward Seymour, Esq;

Henry Powle, Esq;

And

And his Majesty commanded such of them as were then present to be sworn, and to take their places at the board accordingly.

The Right Honourable *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was, by his Majesty's special command, sworn Lord President of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council, took his place at the board accordingly.

His M A J E S T Y was this Day also pleased to declare, that he intended to make

Sir Henry Capell, Kt. of the Bath,

Daniel Finch, Esq;

Sir Thomas Lee, Baronet,

Sir Humphrey Winch, Baronet,

Sir Thomas Meers, Baronet,

Edward Vaughan, Esq;

Edward Hales, Esq;

Commissioners for the execution of the office of Lord High-Admiral of *England*, who shall only attend that business.

His Majesty was also pleased to declare, that he would have all his affairs here debated freely, of what kind soever they were; and therefore absolute secrecy.

His Majesty was also pleased to declare, that he would communicate this alteration of the council unto both houses of Parliament in a few words.

THE expedients mentioned by the author in page 421, and some other parts of these Memoirs, met no success in the house of Commons; who

who, upon the bill of exclusion being thrown out by the Lords, had several other expedients offered them, by some of their own members, but could not fix upon any that were thought sufficient. One expedient was, to have a bill brought in for the association of all his Majesty's Protestant subjects: another was, a bill for the banishment of all considerable Papists out of *England*: a third, for securing frequent Parliaments. It was likewise proposed, that the Prince of *Orange* should be joined in the administration with the Duke, upon his coming to the Crown; with several other schemes, which all proved abortive: so that the house of Commons began to re-assume the thoughts of the bill of exclusion; to which end they presented an address, *December* 15th 1680. The King's Message, in answer to this address, *January* 4th 1680-81, was that which the author was commanded to carry to the house, as he tells us, page 456. And, because it may give the reader some light into the affairs and dispositions of those times, the address and the King's answer are here subjoined.

The

The humble ADDRESS of the House of Commons, presented to his Majesty, in Answer to his Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, upon the fifteenth Day of December 1680.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, have taken into our serious consideration, your Majesty's gracious speech to both your houses of Parliament, on the fifteenth of this instant *December*; and do, with all the grateful sense of faithful subjects, and sincere Protestants, acknowledge your Majesty's great goodness to us, in renewing the assurances you have been pleased to give us of your readiness to concur with us in any means, for the security of the Protestant religion, and your gracious invitation of us to make our desires known to your Majesty.

But, with grief of heart, we cannot but observe, that to these princely offers your Majesty has been advised, (by what secret enemies to your Majesty, and your people, we know not) to annex a reservation, which, if insisted on, in the instance to which alone it is applicable, will render all your Majesty's other gracious inclinations of no effect or advantage to us. Your Majesty is pleased thus to limit your promise of concurrence in the remedies which shall be proposed, that they may consist with preserving the succession of the Crown in its due and legal course of descent: and we do humbly inform your Majesty, that no interruption of that descent has been endeavoured by us, except only the descent upon the person of the Duke of York, who, by the wicked instruments of the church
of

of *Rome*, has been manifestly perverted to their religion. And we do humbly represent to your Majesty, as the issue of our most deliberate thoughts and consultations, that for the Papists to have their hopes continued, that a Prince of that religion shall succeed in the throne of these kingdoms, is utterly inconsistent with the safety of your Majesty's person, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the prosperity, peace, and welfare of your Protestant subjects.

That your Majesty's sacred life is in continual danger, under the prospect of a Popish successor, is evident, not only from the principles of those devoted to the church of *Rome*, which allow that an heretical Prince (and such they term all Protestant Princes) excommunicated and deposed by the Pope, may be destroyed and murdered; but also from the testimonies given, in the prosecution of the horrid *Popish plot*, against divers traitors attainted for designing to put those horrid principles into practice against your Majesty.

From the expectation of this succession, has the number of Papists in your Majesty's dominions so much increased, within these few years, and so many been prevailed with to desert the true Protestant religion, that they might be prepared for the favours of a *Popish* Prince, as soon as he should come to the possession of the Crown: and, while the same expectation lasts, many more will be in the same danger of being perverted.

This it is that has hardened the *Papists* of this kingdom, animated and confederated by their priests and *Jesuits*, to make a common purse, provide arms, make application to foreign Princes, and solicit their aid, for imposing Popery upon us; and all this even during your Majesty's reign, and while your Majesty's government and the laws were our protection.

It

It is your Majesty's glory and true interest, to be the head and protector of all *Protestants*, as well abroad as at home; but, if these hopes remain, what alliances can be made for the advantage of the Protestant religion and interest, which shall give confidence to your Majesty's allies, to join so vigorously with your Majesty, as the state of that interest in the world now requires, while they see this Protestant kingdom in so much danger of a Popish successor; by whom, at the present, all their councils and actions may be eluded, as hitherto they have been, and by whom (if he should succeed) they are sure to be destroyed?

We have thus humbly laid before your Majesty some of those great dangers and mischiefs which evidently accompany the expectation of a Popish successor: the certain and unspeakable evils which will come upon your Majesty's Protestant subjects and their posterity, if such a Prince should inherit, are more also than we can well enumerate.

Our religion, which is now so dangerously shaken, will then be totally overthrown; nothing will be left, or can be found to protect or defend it.

The execution of old laws must cease, and it will be in vain to expect new ones. The most sacred obligations of contracts and promises (if any should be given) that shall be judged to be against the interest of the *Romish* religion, will be violated; as is undeniable, not only from argument and experience elsewhere, but from the sad experience this nation once had on the like occasion.

In the reign of such a Prince the Pope will be acknowledged supreme (though the subjects of this kingdom have sworn the contrary) and all causes, either as spiritual, or in order to spiritual things, will be brought under his jurisdiction.

The lives, liberties, and estates of all such Protestants, as value their souls and their religion more

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than

than their secular concernments, will be adjudged forfeited.

To all this we might add, that it appears, in the discovery of the plot, that foreign Princes were invited to assist in securing the Crown to the Duke of *York*; with arguments from his great zeal to establish Popery, and to extirpate Protestants (whom they call heretics) out of his dominions; and such will expect performance accordingly.

We further humbly beseech your Majesty, in your great wisdom, to consider, whether, in case the Imperial Crown of this Protestant kingdom should descend to the Duke of *York*, the opposition, which may possibly be made to his possessing it, may not only endanger the farther descent in the Royal line, but even monarchy itself.

For these reasons, we are most humble petitioners to your most sacred Majesty, that, in tender commiseration of your poor Protestant people, your Majesty will be graciously pleased to depart from the reservation in your said speech; and, when a bill shall be tendered to your Majesty, in a parliamentary way, to disable the Duke of *York* from inheriting the Crown, your Majesty will give your Royal assent thereto; and, as necessary to fortify and defend the same, that your Majesty will likewise be graciously pleased to assent to an act, whereby your Majesty's Protestant subjects may be enabled to associate themselves for the defence of your Majesty's person, the Protestant religion, and the security of your kingdoms.

These requests, we are constrained humbly to make to your Majesty, as of absolute necessity, for the safe and peaceable enjoyment of our religion.

Without these things, the alliances of *England* will not be valuable, nor the people encouraged to contribute to your Majesty's service.

As

As some further means for the preservation both of our religion and property, we are humble suiters to your Majesty, that from henceforth such persons only may be judges within the kingdom of *England* and dominion of *Wales*, as are men of ability, integrity, and known affection to the Protestant religion. And that they may hold both their offices and salaries *Quamdiu se bene gesserint*. That (several Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the peace, fitly qualified for those employments, having been of late displaced, and and others put in their room who are men of arbitrary principles, and countenancers of Papists and Popery) such only may bear the office of a Lord Lieutenant as are persons of integrity and known affection to the Protestant religion. That Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the peace may be also so qualified, and may be moreover men of ability, of estates, and interest in their country.

That none may be employed as military officers, or officers in your Majesty's fleet, but men of known experience, courage, and affection, to the Protestant religion.

These our humble requests being obtained, we shall, on our part, be ready to assist your Majesty for the preservation of *Tangier*, and for putting your Majesty's fleet into such a condition, as it may preserve your Majesty's sovereignty of the seas, and be for the defence of the nation.

If your Majesty hath, or shall make any necessary alliances, for defence of the Protestant religion, and interest and security of this kingdom, this house will be ready to assist, and stand by your Majesty, in the support of the same.

After this, our humble answer to your Majesty's gracious speech, we hope no evil instruments whatsoever shall be able to lessen your Majesty's esteem of that fidelity and affection we bear to your Majesty's service ;

service; but that your Majesty will always retain, in your Royal breast, that favourable opinion of us your loyal Commons, that those other good bills, which we have now under consideration, conducing to the great ends we have before mentioned; as also, all laws for the benefit and comfort of your people, which shall, from time to time, be tendered for your Majesty's Royal assent, shall find acceptance with your Majesty.

His MAJESTY's gracious Message to the Commons in Parliament, January 4. 1680-81.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty received the address of this house with all the disposition they could wish to comply with their reasonable desires; but, upon perusing it, he is sorry to see their thoughts so wholly fixt upon the bill of exclusion, as to determine that all other remedies for the suppressing of Popery will be ineffectual: his Majesty is confirmed in his opinion against that bill, by the judgment of the house of Lords, who rejected it. He therefore thinks there remains nothing more for him to say, in answer to the address of this house, but to recommend to them the consideration of all other means for the preservation of the Protestant religion; in which they have no reason to doubt of his concurrence, whenever they shall be presented to him in a parliamentary way: and that they would consider the present state of the kingdom, as well as the condition of Christendom, in such a manner, as may enable him to preserve *Tangier*, and secure his alliances abroad, and the peace and settlement at home.

But this answer of the King's was so far from giving satisfaction, that the same day it was read in the
house

house, after long debate, and a despair of any effectual expedients, the Commons came to the following resolutions.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this house, that there is no security nor safety for the Protestant religion, the King's life, or government of this nation, without passing a bill for disabling *James Duke of York* to inherit the Imperial Crown of this realm, and dominions and territories thereunto belonging; and to rely upon any other means and remedies, without such a bill, is not only insufficient, but dangerous.

Resolved, That his Majesty in his last message, having assured this house of his readiness to concur in all other means for the preservation of the Protestant religion, this house doth declare, That, until a bill be likewise passed for excluding the Duke of York, this house cannot give any supply to his Majesty, without danger to his Majesty's person, extreme hazard of the Protestant religion, and unfaithfulness to those by whom this house is intrusted.

These resolutions were followed by votes of addresses against several persons; and, the heats still increasing in the house of Commons, the King, three days after, prorogued the Parliament, and the next week dissolved it by proclamation.

Page 452. *Sir William Jones* was reputed one of the best speakers in the house, and was very zealous in his endeavours for promoting the bill of exclusion. He was a person of great piety and virtue, and, having taken an affection to *Sir William Temple*, was sorry to see him employed in the delivery of so unacceptable a message to the house: the substance of what he said to the author upon it was this: that for himself he was old and infirm, and expected to die soon: but you, said he, will, in all probability, live to see the whole kingdom lament the consequences of this message you have now brought us from the King.

Page 456, What the author spoke in the house, does not only relate to the business of *Tangier*, but likewise to the bill of exclusion, which was then newly thrown out by the Lords. I shewed the speech to the author, who, as far as his memory could serve him, allowed it to be fairly taken. I think it very worthy of the author, though it appears to have been wholly unpremeditate. And since part of it relates to some passages in the Memoirs, it may be convenient to insert it here.

MR. SPEAKER,

THIS debate hath more of weight in it, than the business of *Tangier*. I think, as affairs now stand, the most part of Christendom is concerned in it, I am sure all the Protestants: and therefore, I hope, your patience will hold out, to have the whole circumstances of it fairly examined: for the arguments that have been offered, in the consideration of this message, have enlarged the debate further than was at first intended, and have brought the whole state of the nation, in some measure, before you, instead of that one particular business of *Tangier*; so that now what resolve you make will be a discovery of your inclinations, not only as to what you intend to do as to a supply for *Tangier*, but as to giving money for alliances and all other occasions; upon which result the good or bad success of this Parliament doth depend. As to *Tangier*, I do agree with that worthy member that spoke before (though many are of a different opinion) that it is not of any great use to us, upon the account of any advantage we shall make by it. But however, I think it is very well worth our keeping, because of the disadvantages we should receive by it, if it should fall into the hands, either of the *Turk*, or *Spaniard*, but especially the *French*, who will not only be thereby enabled to fetter us as to our trade in the

the *Levant*, but to curb also all other nations whatsoever; and be such an addition to the too great power he hath acquired, both by sea and land already, that I am of opinion we ought to be very cautious how we weaken the security we now have, that it shall not fall into his hands. But if the mole and the town could be blown into the air, or otherwise reduced into its first chaos, I think, considering the charge it will cost keeping, *England* would not be much the worse for it; but to move you to consider any thing about that, at this time, cannot be proper, because the *Moors* have so besieged it, that the first thing that must be done, whether in order to keep it or destroy it, is, to beat them off, by some speedy supplies which must be presently sent; or else the town, according to the best information come from thence, is like to be lost. And, Sir, I think this single consideration may be persuasive to move you to give some such supply as may be precisely necessary for the defence and protection of this place. A small sum of money, in comparison of what this house hath formerly given, may be sufficient to satisfy his Majesty's expectation, and secure the place too. But I must confess, Sir, it is not the consideration of *Tangier* that makes me press you to it; but the deplorable state of the Protestants abroad. Sir, I have had the honour to serve his Majesty in some public employments, and by that means may be a little more sensible of the state of affairs, in reference to our neighbours, than others may be; having not only had the advantage of information, but was under a necessity of using my best endeavours to get a true account of them. Sir, *I am confident the eyes of all Europe are upon this Parliament; and not only the Protestants abroad but many Catholic countries (who stand in fear of the power of France) do think themselves as much concerned in the success of this Parliament, as this house; and will be as much perplexed to hear any ill news thereof.* This

This, Sir, as well as the necessities of our affairs at home, make me trouble you at this time, to desire you to be careful what you do, that we may not occasion in his Majesty any dislike to this house. Whatever you do as to the business of money for *Tangier*, I pray, Sir, let there be no notice taken in your address, of the Lords having cast out your bill; for we have no reason to think the King was any ways concerned therein. To throw out a bill of so great importance, without a conference, was, in my humble opinion, very strange, and contrary to the usual proceedings of that house. But pray, Sir, let it lie at their doors that did it; for the King could not be concerned in a parliamentary way. For by this means we may obviate all misunderstandings with his Majesty about this affair; and, I hope, create in him a good opinion of this house, upon which the welfare, not only of this nation, but of *Europe*, doth much depend.

Sir, His Majesty, in his message, puts you in mind of giving advice, as well as money; I think, if we make that expression the ground of our address, we may naturally graft very good things thereon, especially what may conduce to the preservation of a fair correspondence. Sir, *Though a King alone cannot save a kingdom, yet a King alone can do very much to ruin it; and, though Parliaments alone cannot save this kingdom, yet Parliaments alone may do much to ruin it.* And therefore we cannot be too circumspect in what we do. It is our fortune to sit here in a critical time, when not only the affairs of this nation, but the Protestant religion abroad need our continuance; and, for the same reason, we may justly fear that there are those who endeavour to contrive the putting off this Parliament. I pray, Sir, let us not give them any advantage; and then I doubt not but his Majesty's care and goodness will at last overcome all difficulties, and bring this session to a happy conclusion.

The End of the First Volume.

